OLOTOV as Seen by Foreign Correspondent Henry C. Cassidy

FREE WORLD

Why Fear Ghosts
by
Vincent Sheean

AN FRANCISCO
ILLUSTRATED
SUPPLEMENT

•

Senators
AIKEN, PEPPER,
MITH, THOMAS
N CONFERENCE

•

IGRID UNDSET
ON
GERMANY

•

NOW JAPAN!
wing By FRAYDAS

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"Forêt en Lorraine" painted for Pinaud by Bernard Lamotte

Lilianelle

All the captivating charm of the Forests of Lorraine

PINAUD
Parfumeurs
SINCE 1810
PARIS **NEW YORK** LONDON

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San Francisco

The United Nations Conference on International Organization laid the foundations for a permanent world organization despite all the difficulties and dissension. Whether the formal beginnings will endure or not no one can yet tell. The answer to this question lies with the people everywhere. But at least San Francisco has proved that no one can dare take the responsibility of breaking up the precious unity of the Allies which has brought them victory. The Editors of FREE WORLD report to their readers that despite all appearances, San Francisco was one of the most exciting meetings in the history of the world. Of course, different ideologies confronted one another, sometimes vehemently, sometimes with all the brutality of power,—but this we expected. The important thing was to find out whether the common denominator could be found. We believe that San Francisco proved that it can be found. In order to convey to our readers not only by words but also by pictures some of the most significant aspects of San Francisco, we have introduced this special section of pictures and drawings exclusively prepared for FREE WORLD by the famous artists of international conferences, Derso and Kelen.

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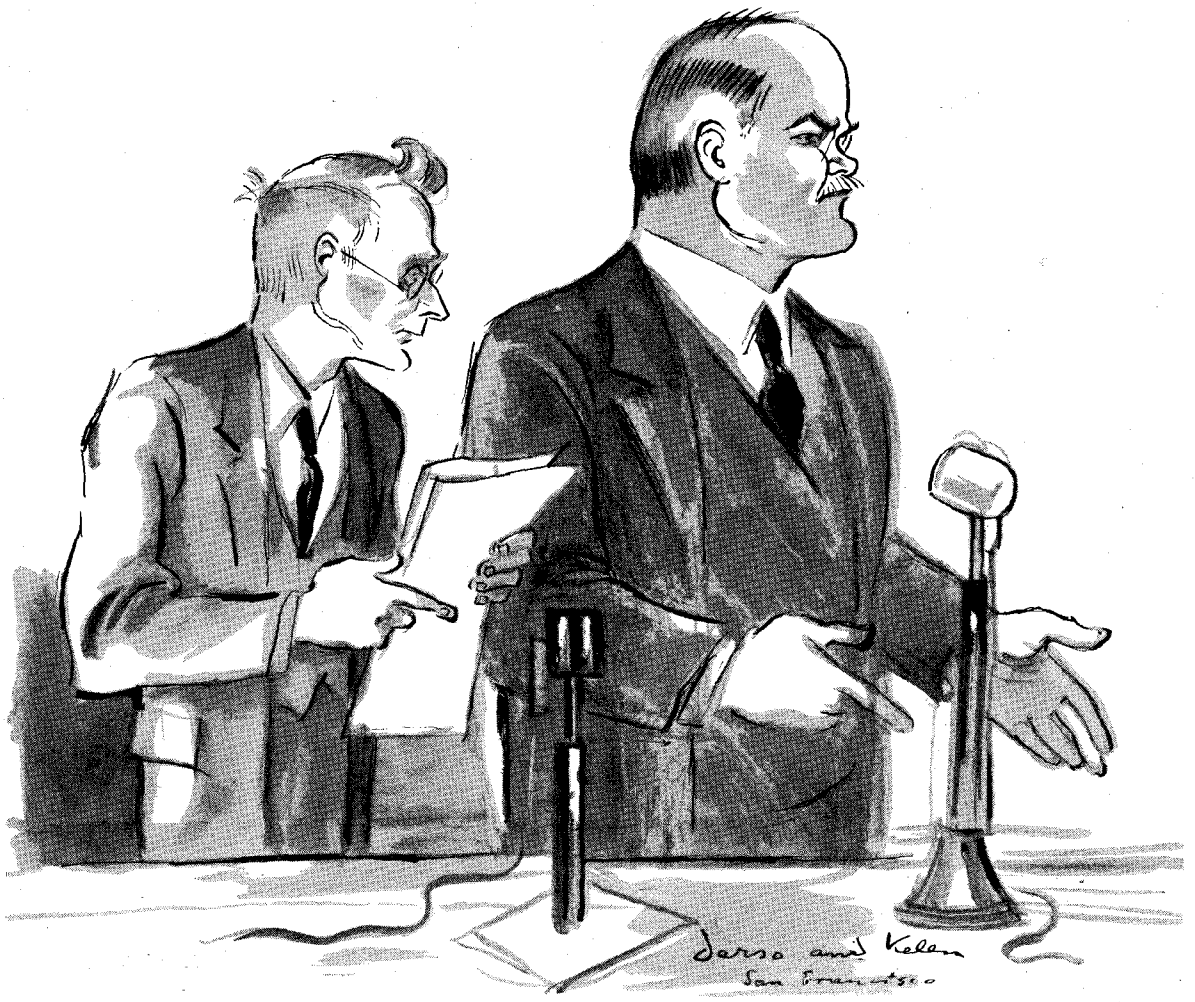

RUSSIA'S MOLOTOV (right) and his eternal shadow, Interpreter Pavlov.

STETTINIUS — host, chairman and go-between of the Conference

LORD HALIFAX AND LORD CRANBORNE — the real "seconds" in the British delegation.

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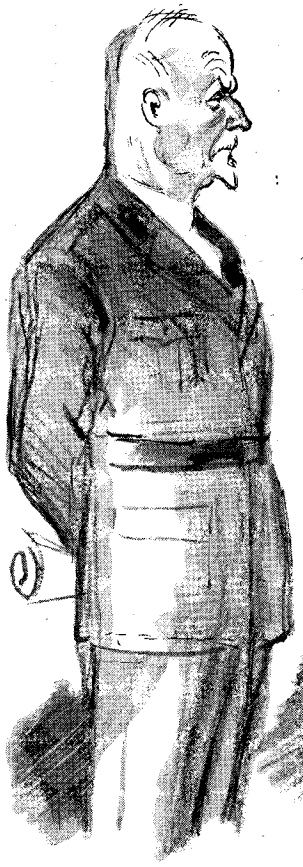
VICTOR ANDRES BELAUNDI of Peru: the most gesticulating of all delegates. He used his hands, his voice, his hair for a bad argument in favor of Argentine's fascist government.

VAN KLEFFENS of the Netherlands —the voice of the small nations.

SMUTS of South Africa — the elder statesman of the Conference.



FRASER of New Zealand— leader of the progressives.

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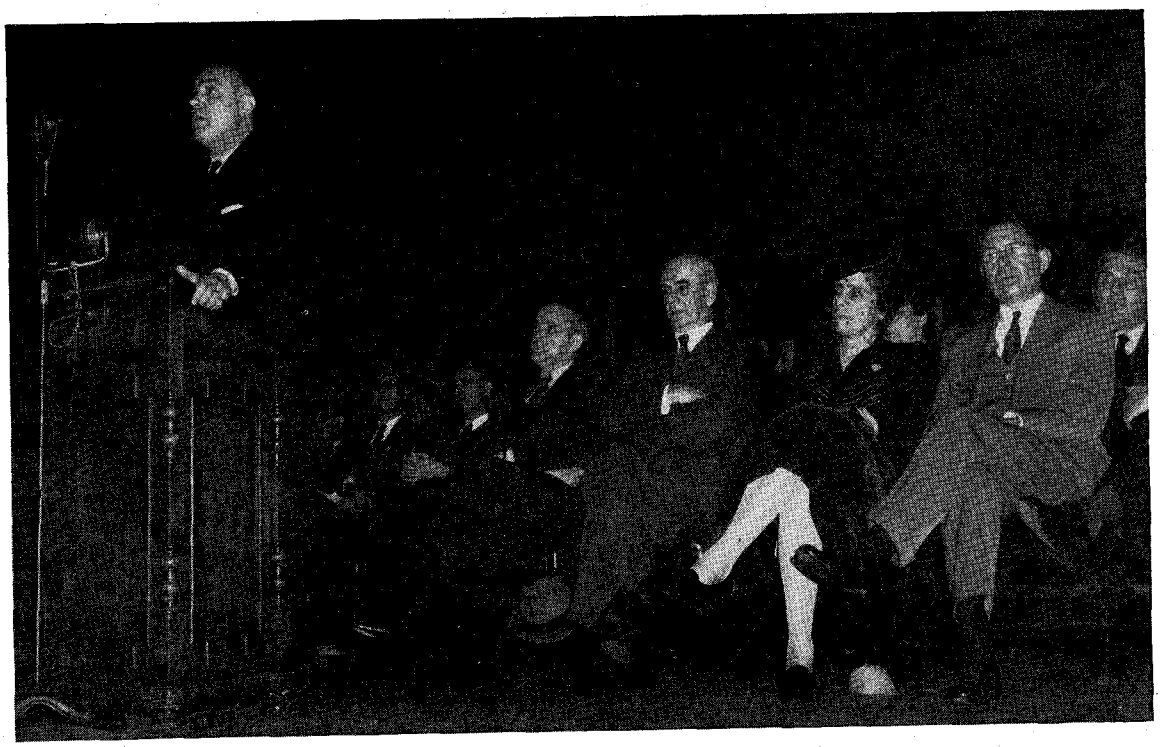
DEAN VIRGINIA C. GILDERSLEEVE, top-ranking U. S. delegate (right), discusses Conference issues with Miss Florence Horsburgh and Miss Ellen Wilkinson, British Assistant Delegates. She and other women delegates refused to be confined to the "woman's field." Their interests are global. Pix Photo

CHARLES BOYER (below) speaks in San Francisco before a mass meeting of 12,000 people called by FREE WORLD, Americans United, and the Association for the United Nations. On the platform, left to right, AFL's Robert Watt, CIO's Philip Murray, Dean Gildersleeve, Americans United President Hugh Moore.



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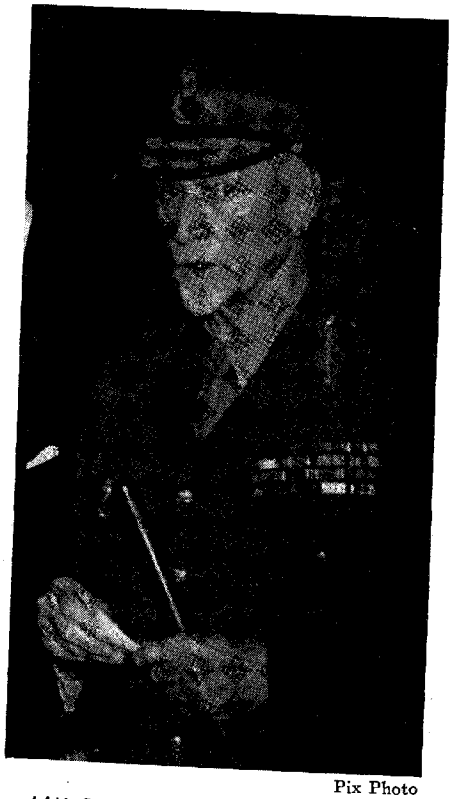
Acme Photo

INNER SANCTUM OF THE BIG FIVE. From left to right, China's T. V. Soong, France's Bidault, U. S.'s Stettinius, Russia's Molotov and Britain's Clement Attlee. They talked long and frequently and "leaks" were few.

Pix Photo

TORY ANTHONY EDEN has a good laugh. Labor's Clement Attlee is less amused. The two may not sit together again for a long time to come.



Pix Photo

JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS never loses his composure. To him most of the other delegates are just newcomers.

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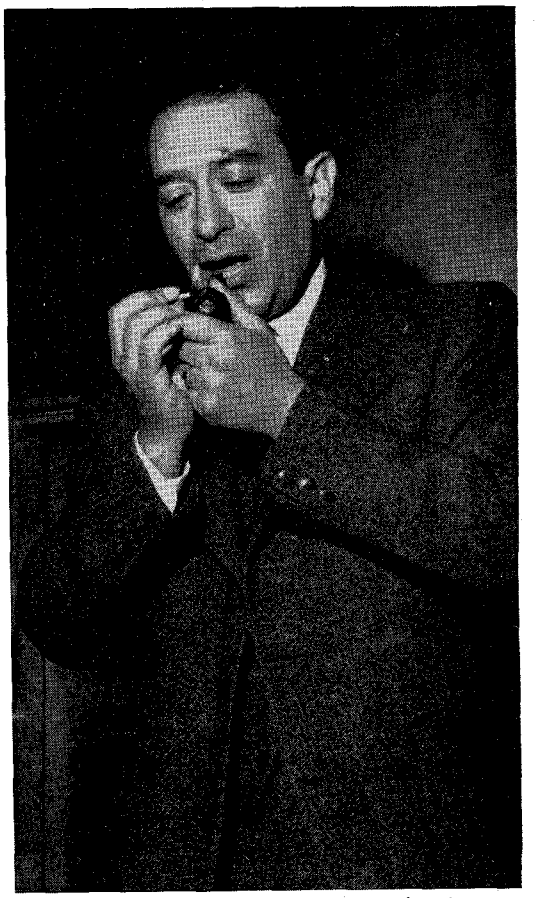
PAUL VERDIER, Franco-American businessman in San Francisco and host to FREE WORLD editors, wants San Francisco as world capital.

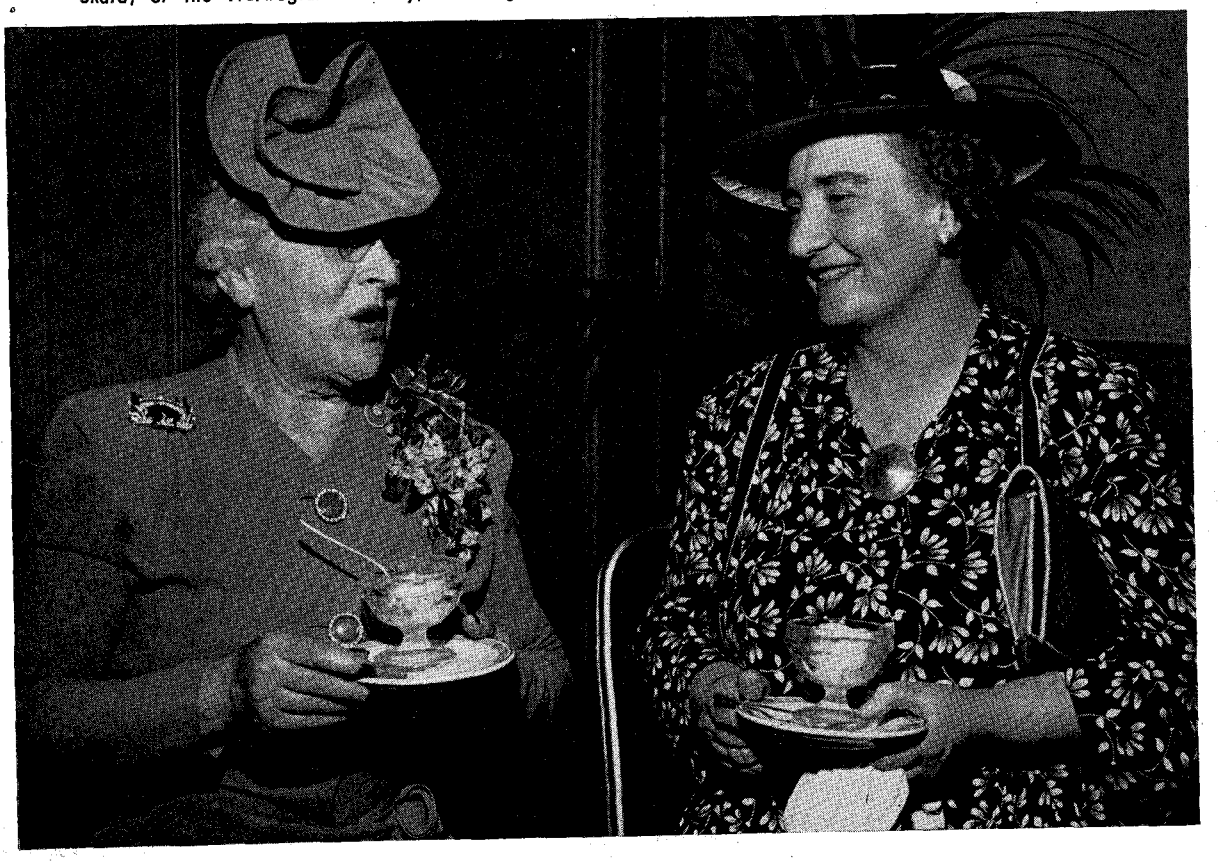


LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, Latin-American labor leader, unofficial but very powerful.

Pix Photo

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS leader, Mrs. Spornborg, chats with Mrs. Assa Gruda Skard, of the Norwegian Embassy, Washington.

Pix Photo



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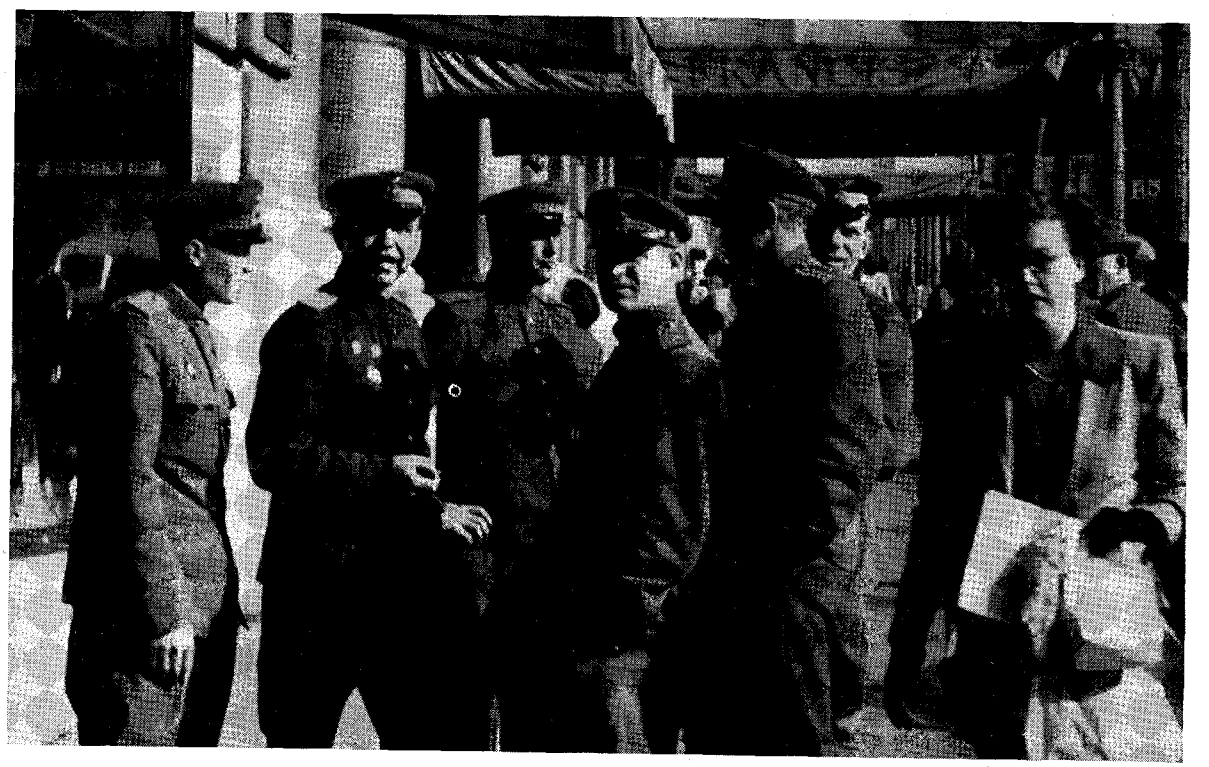
AT THE MOST DRAMATIC SESSION of the Conference Mr. Molotov and Subasic, Yugoslav Foreign Minister, rise to vote against the admission of the fascist Argentine Government to the Conference. Acme Photo



RUSSIAN SOLDIERS and marines, present as guards and aides to their delegation, are as curious about San Francisco as the city is about them. Here they are at the door of the St. Francis Hotel, which was the Russian delegation's headquarters.
Pix Photo

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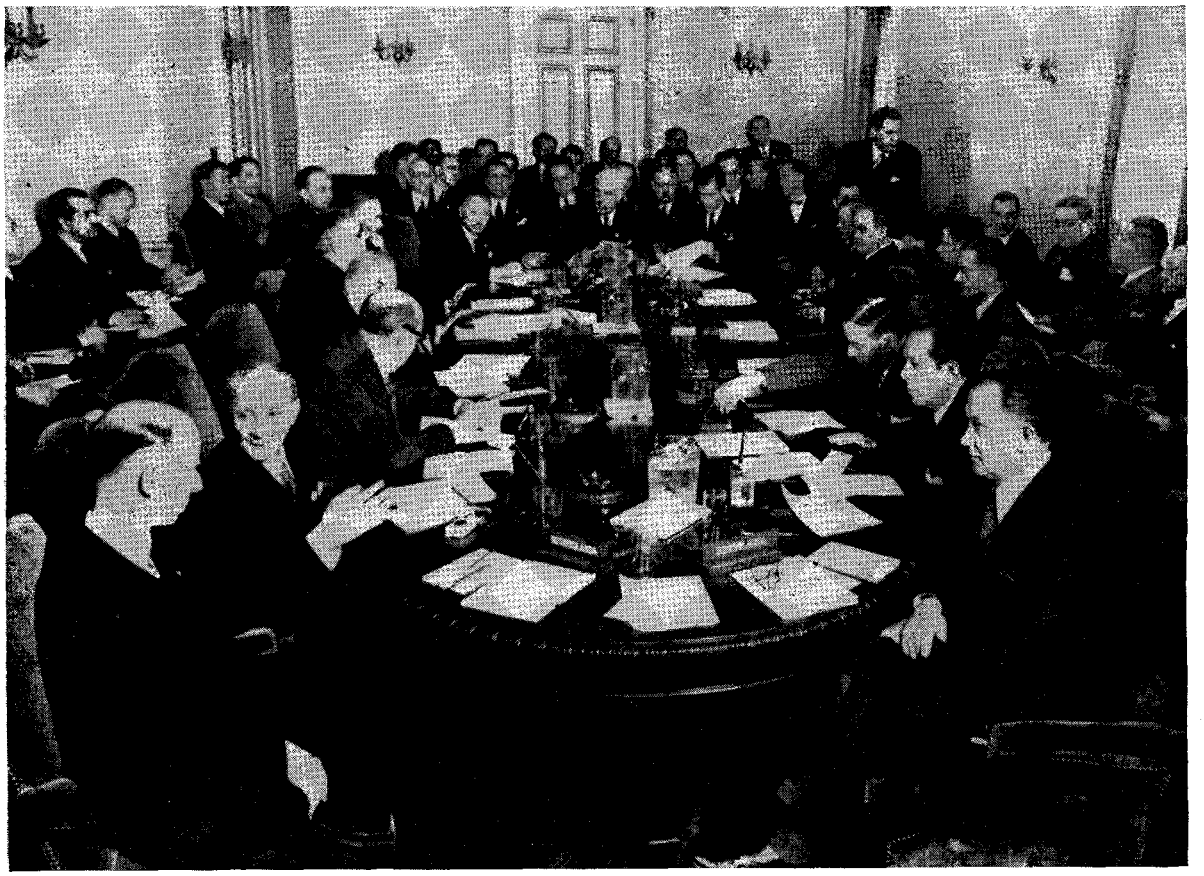

THE POWERFUL STEERING COMMITTEE of the United Nations Conference meets in the upper floor of the Veterans Building. Its parleys were secret, its role was to establish the procedure and avoid insofar as possible unforeseen occurrences on the floor of the Conference. Acme Photo

THE ARABIAN DELEGATES were the true sheiks of the Conference. They were the link with feudal society, but the oil wealth in their territories lent a very modern note to their presence. Pix Photo

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THE FREE WORLD FORUM over the Blue Network assembles every Sunday distinguished guests for discussion of Conference results. Left to right, Greek Foreign Minister John Sophianopoulos, Editor Vlavianos, Yugoslav Undersecretary Gavrilovic, Australian Foreign Minister Evatt, Louis Dolivet, Forum Chairman Orson Welles, Canadian Ambassador Pearson, and France's Ambassador Bonnet.

OUTSIDE THE OPERA HOUSE where the Conference was held crowds of those fortunate enough to have passes gathered daily. Pix Photo

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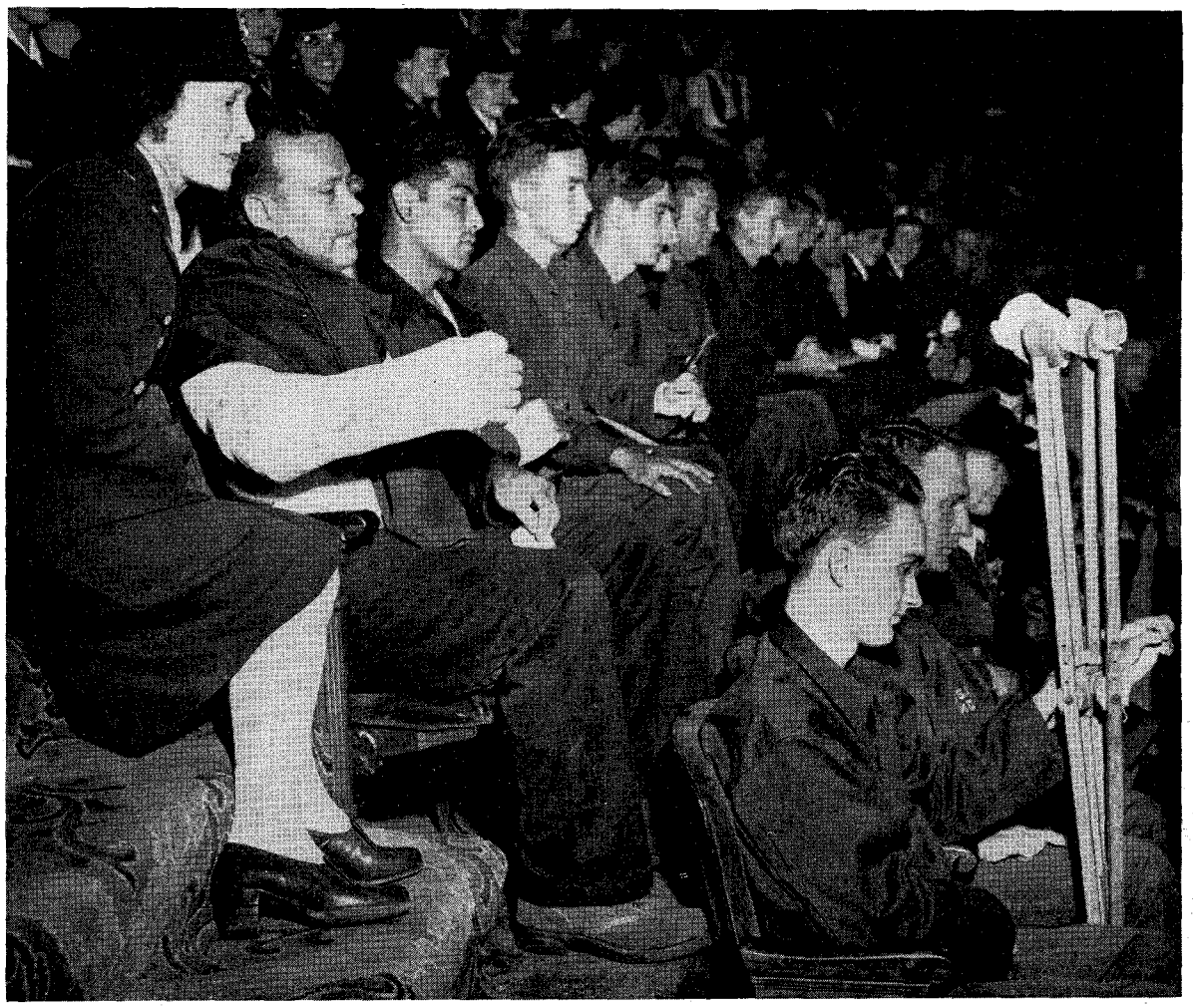
CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S JAN MASARYK discusses in the lobby an emergency issue with Lord Cranborne, Ambassador Hurban and Clement Attlee. Pix Photo

MOST HONORED GUESTS at the Conference were these wounded American veterans. Acme Photo



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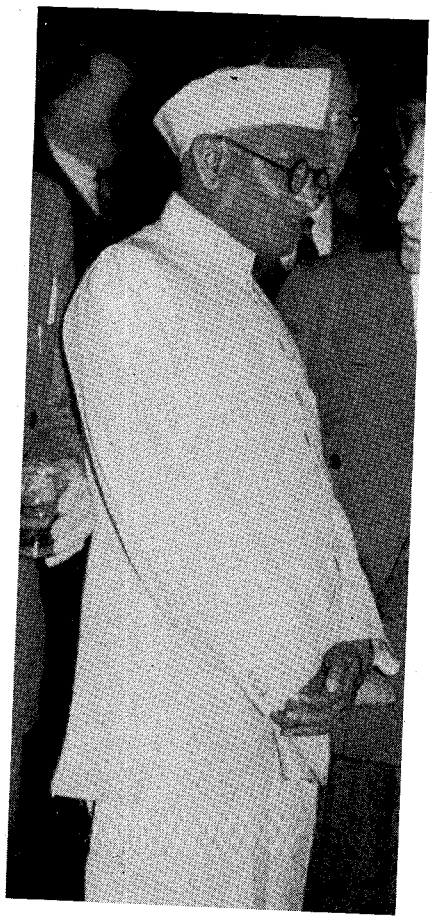
OLD TIMERS discuss Experiment No. 2. Left to right, Shane Lester, Secretary General of the League, Arthur Sweetser, former League of Nations official, at present with OWI, and J. G. Guerrero, President of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Pix Photo



ARMITAL D. SHETH, delegate of India, caught in a smiling mood between sessions in the buffet.

Pix Photo

CHARLES ROSS, within a few days to become President Truman's press secretary, chats at North Platte, Nebraska, with one of the hundreds who welcomed the correspondents' train as it passed through, and offered homemade refreshments.

Pix Photo

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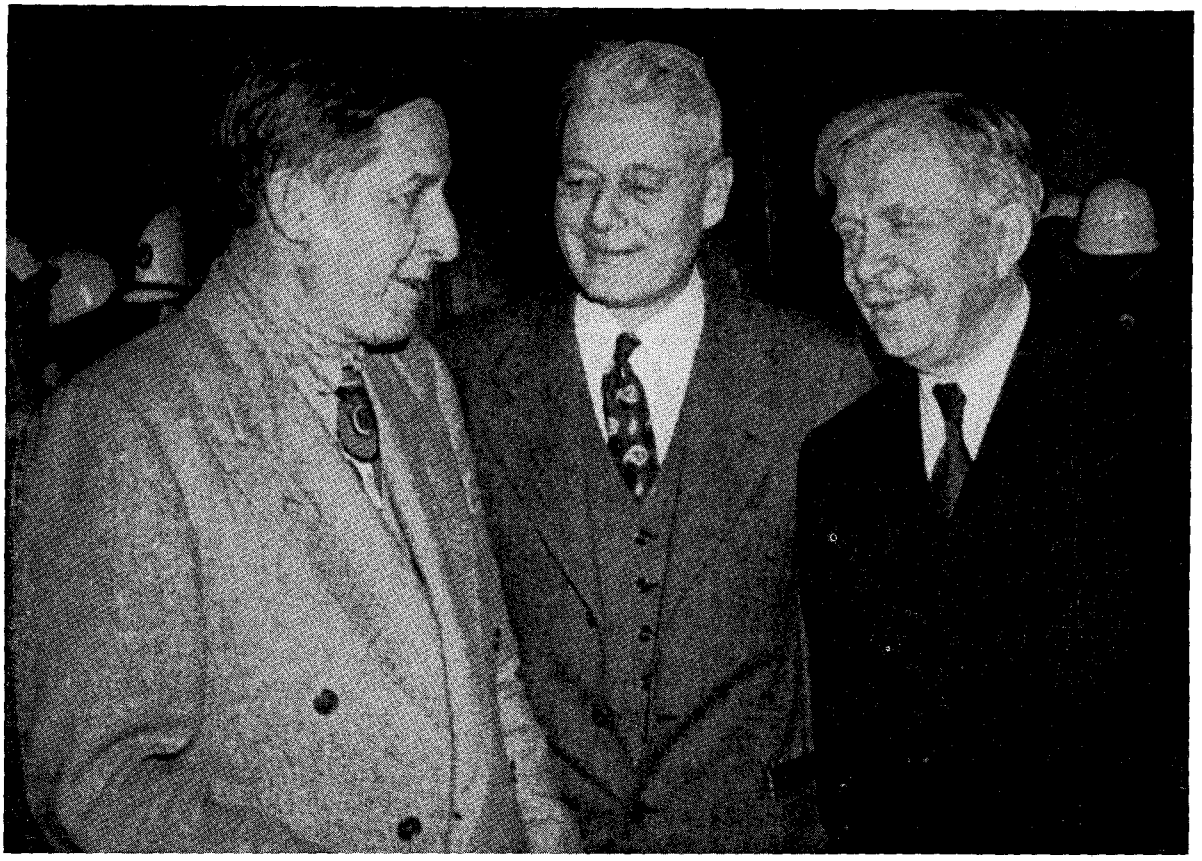
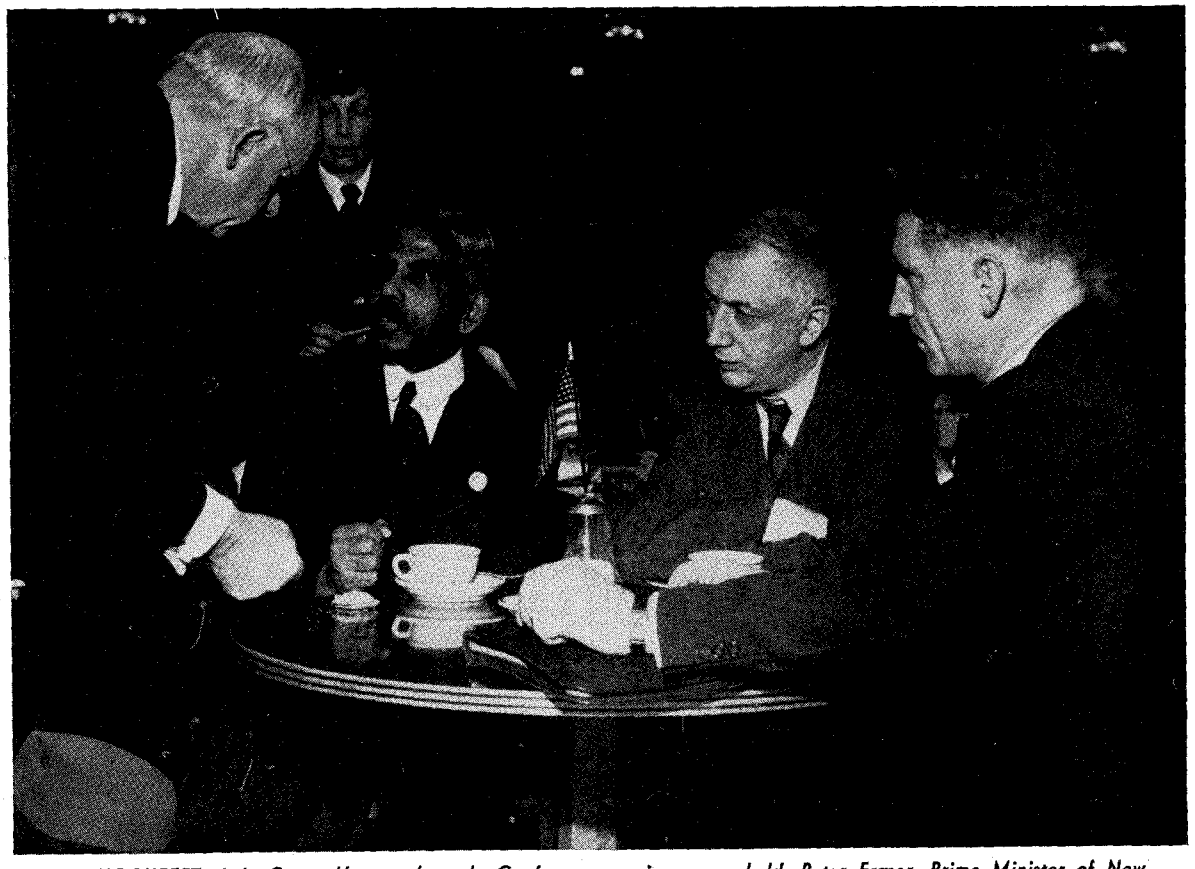


INNOVATION BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT was the appointment of consultants representing all sections of American public opinion. Here are (left to right), Prof. Lindsay Rogers, Columbia University, Prof. C. N. Nash, University of Toledo, James T. Shotwell, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Pix Photo



IN THE BUFFET of the Opera House, where the Conference sessions were held, Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand leans down to say a word to Sir Ramaswamie Mudaliar, Indian delegate, while Norwegian delegate Arne Ording and Haakon Lie, Secretary of the Norwegian Federation of Labor, listen. Pix Photo

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ANOTHER BLUE NETWORK FREE WORLD FORUM. The hot issue of Spain is debated by Spain's last (we believe also future) Foreign Minister Alvarez Del Vayo, (second from left), Louis Dolivet, (extreme left), Orson Welles, and Robert Valeur, Director of the French Information Service.

CHARLES BOYER, in one of his frequent FREE WORLD broadcasts over Warner Brothers station KYWB and San Francisco's KYA.

RITA HAYWORTH came with Orson Welles to Sunday FREE WORLD Forums over the Blue Network.

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FRENCH DELEGATES. In the foreground, gentle but, as he proved to the Germans, tough Foreign Minister George Bidault of the French Underground, and René Pleven, middle-of-the-road Finance Minister. In the background the legal brain of the French Delegation Basdevant, (It is said that the Arabian delegation, entrusted with writing the juridical report for the Conference wanted Basdevant to do the report), and talented, intellectual Henri Bonnet, ambassador of the new France to the United States. The French delegates intervened less in the debates than was expected and than is the tradition of France. As one of them said, they wanted to test their footing with the other great powers because it is their first comeback to the great arena.

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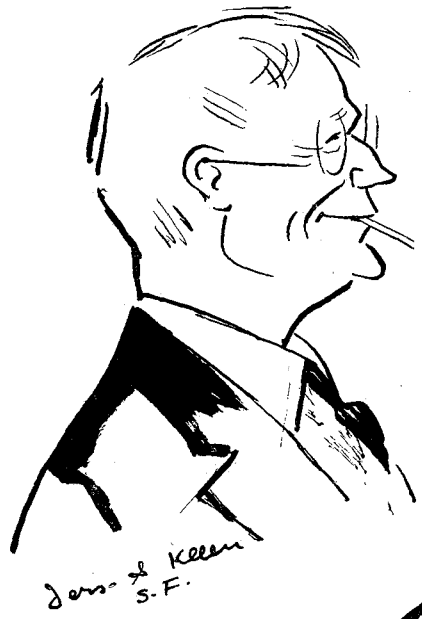
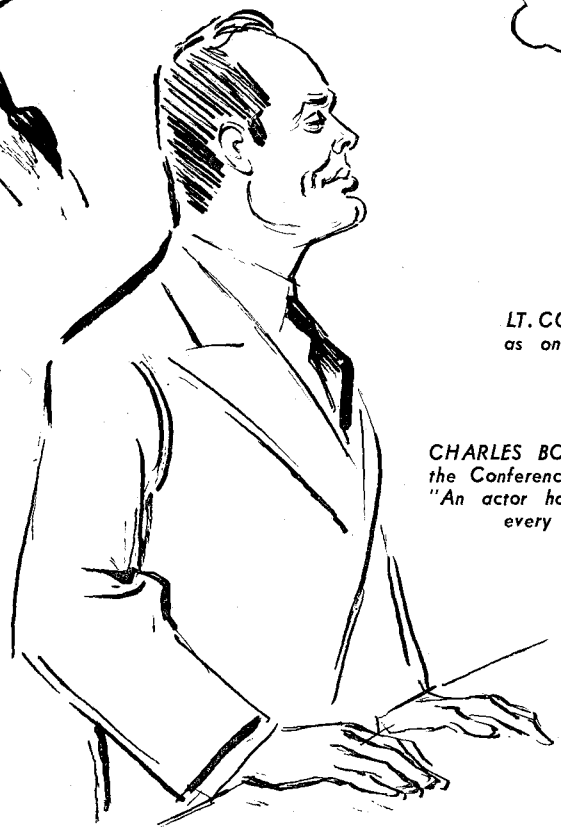
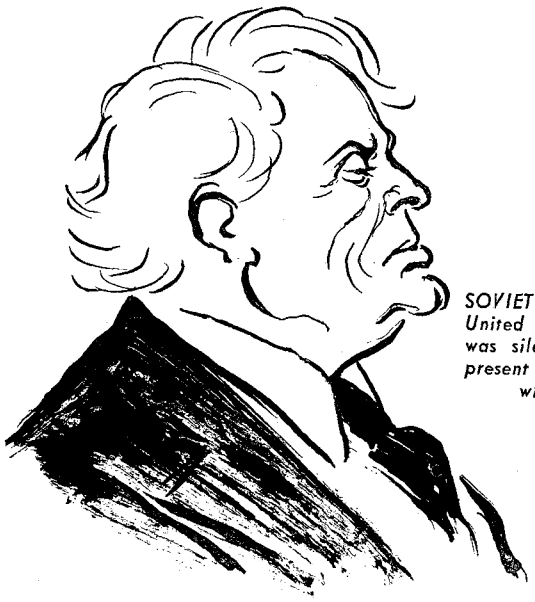


MANLEY HUDSON, Judge of the Permanent Court, fights for a strong and independent new World Court.

LT. COMMANDER STASSEN emerged as one of the strong men of the American delegation.



CHARLES BOYER spent a week at the Conference because, as he said, "An actor has the same duties as every other citizen."



LION-HEADED PAUL BONCOUR, despite four years of life under the Germans, is still one of the best orators at the Conference.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR to the United States Andrei Gromyko was silent when Molotov was present but he talked a lot when he was gone.

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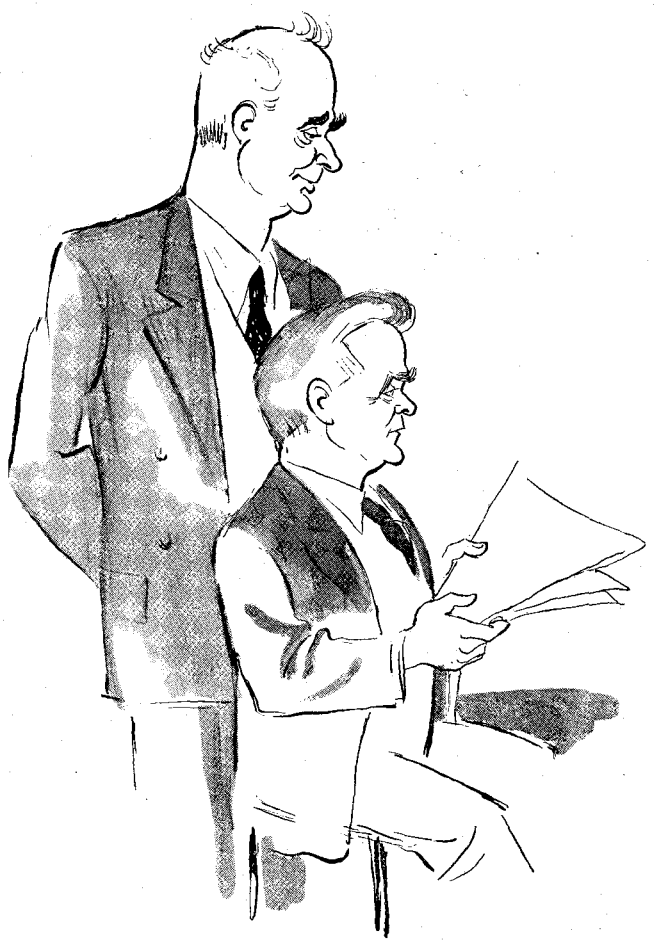
H. R. H. FAISAL, Ibn Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia—colorful reminder of the past.

SUAVE, INTELLIGENT, competent and very prudent Wellington Koo, Number two in China's delegation.

BRIGADIER GENERAL CARLOS P. ROMULO represents energetically the Philippines. He knows what aggression means.



PHILIP MURRAY of the CIO and Robert Watt of the AFL do not see eye to eye on world labor but they seem to agree on the Conference.

SOL BLOOM, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman, and Tom Connally, Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman, were unassuming at the Conference. In the last analysis their word on the Conference will be very important.

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FREE WORLD

A Non-Partisan Magazine
devoted to the
United Nations and Democracy

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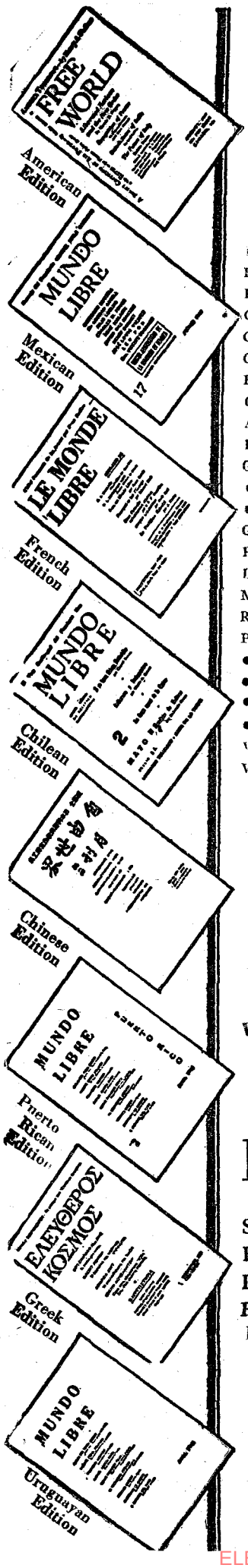

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Free Speech

World Security

As a member of the "American Veterans Committee" an exclusive organization of veterans of this second World War, we are vitally interested in progressive and democratic movements and trends of the people generally. The veterans of this war have it as their responsibility to see to it that this war is really the last one.

Therefore, we are as Americans and as veterans interested in a powerful World Security Organization with teeth in it. The "United Nations" as it is called, needs to be explained in *simple terms* outside of its legalistic language. In such a manner, common people can grasp the meaning of it all.

Chicago, Illinois. PHILIP HIRSCOVITZ.

• • •

Regional Security Systems

I am very much interested in one aspect of the all-over geographical problem of world security. There is much to be said for regional set-ups, drawing together a cluster of states or cutting across some present boundaries for the economic and political betterment of every citizen and the more efficient administration of all economic and political business if . . .

The "if", the unknown, is whether in this generation or in the near future the citizens will be so fortunate, well-fed and intellectually and spiritually free that the present importance of past wrongs (especially those dating back before 1000 A.D.), of what political nation one belongs to and, above all, of boundaries as such shall have withered to almost nothing. It is quite possible today to understand the psychology which wishes to perpetuate so many memories and magnify the importance of nationalities and boundary lines. But the conviction that this state of mind must be modified must be instilled eventually into the people whom it affects. We who hold it now are just the people on the sidelines, and mostly the bookish ones at that. There will have to be two movements, one to better all the above-mentioned conditions, and a second to create the state of mind appreciative of this betterment. Then the regional systems will work smoothly, the world organization above them will be a serious respected business, and we shall have a free world.

Norwich, Vermont. ELIZABETH F. BALLARD.

Pacific Bases

I hope that FREE WORLD is going to take up the cudgels in opposition to the arbitrary control by our government of those air bases in the Pacific.

I need not point out to you how this constitutes a direct repudiation of all our fine-sounding phrases and promises regarding the future of dependent peoples. It certainly is not consistent with our policy in the Philippines.

I believe this action should be thoroughly aired and discussed, because the only right way, it seems obvious, would be for these bases to come under the control of the Security Council, even while this government would undoubtedly exercise immediate control over them. In the case of a crisis in international affairs, they should not be held exclusively by the United States.

Dumont, New Jersey. EVA A. HARVEY.

• • •

Lebensraum?

I should like to see a frank, honest, profound, and generous discussion of the question of *Lebensraum* of the three leading Axis nations, Japan, Germany and Italy. It would be a *"new* subject" because it is completely passed up by the press and omitted from public forums. The three are still the have-not nations (or will be at the war's end), and they will have less after the war than before. Whenever I have heard the subject of *Lebensraum* discussed at all, the solution was tossed off in a glib, superficial manner by people who have lived only in a huge, wealthy country that will probably never be over-populated, at least through the natural increase of its present nationals; in other words, by people who have not the slightest inkling of what over-population (or conversely, poverty of soil and natural resources) means.

This is a subject which haunts me like a nightmare, and if we could have real discussion of it in FREE WORLD, I for one, should be most happy to read it.

Portland, Oregon. HENRY SAFFORD KING.

• • •

EDITOR'S NOTE: *You should have read John F. Timmons' "Equalizing Earth's Bounties" in the April issue of* FREE WORLD *in which he copes with the problem that disturbs you. Nations need access to raw materials and markets for their products rather than acquisition of territory.*

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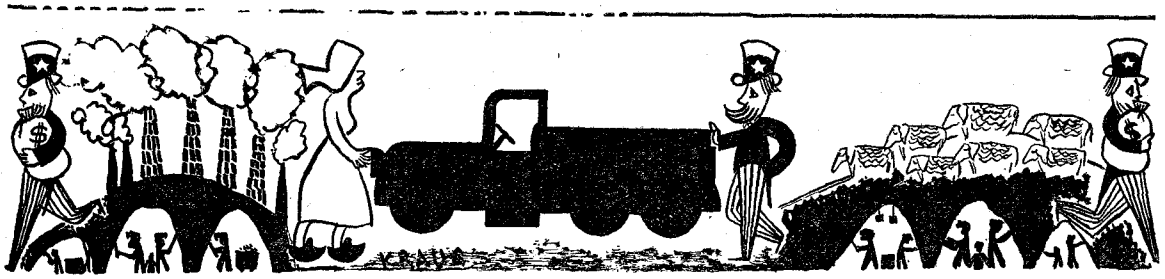

Lend Lease Profits

In order to explain the theory of the selfish advantage of sending Lend Lease to any nation that will accept it, I should like to tell the economic story of a lend lease truck. The manufacturer sells the truck to Holland and the Government lends the money to Holland with which to pay for the truck. The money does not leave the U. S. I am not sure how many corporations pay an income tax on their separate profits on the different parts such as the motor, the tires, the body, the steel, the upholstery, the wool for the upholstery and the vast amount of labor that goes into each separate part . . . the sheep which are herded for the wool they provide . . . the miners who work in the earth, even the consumer goods which all these various people buy with what is left them after they have paid their taxes and on which taxes have been paid many times. You have heard how we are suffering under hidden taxation . . . it is a blessing of which I do not wish to be denied. By the time we give or lease the truck to Holland the government has more than the purchase price of the truck returned to it in taxes. . . ."

This, of course, meant that Lend Lease had power to free us, the whole U. S., of debt if we lend lease only articles of a highly complex nature and if no part of the tax structure is changed. Of course, the men in the high brackets won't like this, nor will Mr. Ruml. We are just middle class with about one-third of our income going to taxes of one sort or another and we feel that that is the one place that we get our money's worth.

Portland, Oregon. SUE B. TUESCHER.

• • •

Stamps and Food

My wife and I have read with interest of your "FREE WORLD" and are very much interested in the idea of a free world. I am a recorded minister of the Religious Society of Friends and a graduate of Tufts College School of Religion. I now serve as manager of a rural cooperative community and of our co-op store.

I have been a stamp collector for twenty-five years (starting as a boy) and I am now giving what time I can spare to a program involving the collecting of stamps from every possible source with the idea of making the stamps available to collectors at a fair price. The money received from this sale (above actual expenses) is being and will be given to the American Friends Service Committee or the Red Cross to be used in feeding people in areas where there is need. For the present we desire to have the feeding done in war-torn areas, but we believe this program need not be a temporary one based on war need. There are feeding programs of all sorts that we can help with now and later.

Morristown, New Jersey. JOSEPH T. LIPPINCOTT.

Readers who have foreign stamps and would like to help should mail them to Mt. Laurel, Hainesport Road, Box 67, R.F.D. #1, Moorestown, New Jersey.

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What I Am Fighting For

Lt. Buckeridge's "What I Am Fighting For" is a simple, forthright, aggressive and *positive* statement on the meaning of the war.

For too long we have been misled by the confusing and inadequate slogans adopted to justify this horrible blood-bath. This was described as the "Peoples' War *Against* Fascism," and the implications were that our task would be completed as soon as fascism had been defeated. Unfortunately, as most of us now know through bitter experience, this is a dangerous over-simplification. The defeat of fascism is not enough; it is only *one* of the necessary steps in man's hard, long, sometimes discouraging, march toward a real democratic society. Also, to be anti-fascist is not enough; one must also be actively and vociferously pro-democratic. This is implicit in Lt. Buckeridge's statement.

The conditions which fascism finds so favorable for its development and growth must be removed. Poverty in a society which "suffers" from overproduction is an absurd contradiction. Race prejudice in a culture which founds its system of ethical and religious values on the Christian principles of "The Brotherhood of Man" is a brutal hypocrisy. Slums, inadequate health facilities for the poor, the denial of educational opportunities to portions of the population, dispossessing of farmers and the destruction of foodstuff while people starve, ever-recurring crises and more severe unemployment—these, and other stupid blunders of our socio-economic organization must be eliminated. The alternative:—fascism, under a different name, will again be encouraged. . . .

For this purpose—as an insight into the many changes necessary in America's social, economic, political and cultural life to insure the improbability and unlikelihood of a new fascism — his personal statement of beliefs is a definite contribution in the right direction. To put that program into effect is our responsibility.

The Marianas. LT. FLOYD R. MASON,
SGT. SIMON SILVERMAN.

Lt. Byron Buckeridge's article "What I Am Fighting For" appeared in the November 1944 issue of FREE WORLD. *Few articles we have published have attracted more widespread and continuing comment and praise.*

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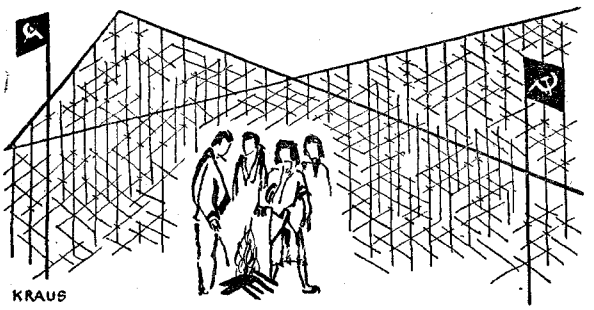


From a G.I. in Germany

On a recent afternoon off, I had wandered around for hours with loaded carbine and had turned dejectedly toward the post and bunk when I spotted a wee red flag hanging high on a thin pole—getting closer I saw it had a big hammer and sickle and two more on posts, at the entrance to a former prison barracks, wide open though still surrounded with high and vicious barbed wire—I called to those within. Wandering in and around I found them cooking coffee, potatoes and tough chicken—it was Sunday—on little fires in the stockade. Surrounded shortly with happy people of all ages, mostly young, I was prevailed upon to come in, sample the food and say and hear more.

The girls, few, were quiet and passed the cake of soap I had given them around for everybody to smell. They were all survivors from one of the notorious recently liberated concentration camps. Not *one* was unscarred by knife, hook, bullet or whip. Our talk was, of course, mainly in German and gestures. They were happy—very bright—and powerful evidence of democracy in action.

I gave them, in addition to the soap, all the cigarettes I had, some chocolate and crystal coffee. They were most reluctant to accept anything at all and it was only by insistence and a willingness to accept their food and German cigarettes that I prevailed.

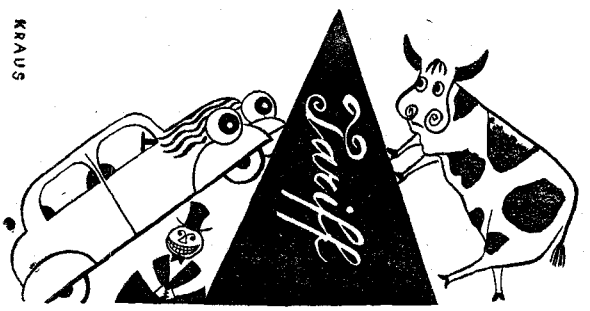
It was such a sudden break in my months of loneliness that I found my heart pounding and my head aching as if with dissipation. I loved them immediately and I was "tovarich." There was little surprise that I had fought in Spain—taken as such a matter of course that I was not sure at first they understood.—They did.

It was hard to leave, especially since a full week at least would have to pass before I should have another opportunity, if any.

Somewhere in Germany.

CPL. ROBERT B. ROGERS.

KRAUS



World Organization Dramatized

The functions of the organizations visualized by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference were recently demonstrated in Concord, Massachusetts, before an audience of some one hundred citizens in a clever dramatization written and produced by the head of the local branch of the League of Women Voters with assistance from a member of the Harvard University staff.

In the first act, the audience was assumed to be the General Assembly in session with the acting chairman as the President. Various citizens were told off as representatives of various countries and, reading from the script, proceeded, to the amusement of their friends, to make nominations for the Security Council in a babel of tongues. That difficulty being overcome by the stage manager, who intervened from time to time to shorten or explain proceedings, the Assembly elected that Council, the Economic Council and the Secretary-General and disposed of various matters by reference to the proper bodies or otherwise as perhaps they would be dealt with in real situations.

In the second act, the Secretary-General (Mr. Benes) dealt with a supposed situation presented by China represented by Madam Chiang, impersonated by a charming Concordian.

The third act was a meeting of the Security Council dealing with a threatened aggression reported by the Secretary General and demonstrated the voting procedure.

The General Assembly then reconvened for the fourth act for which no script had been written but which provided a half-hour of general discussion from the floor.

The general opinion was that not only the cast but the audience had had a profitable and instructive evening.

Boston, Massachusetts. ROGER D. SWAIM.

A good idea. We hope others will try it.

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High Tariffs and Peace

As a reader of FREE WORLD, I have been interested in the questions which have appeared therein, but heretofore have not voiced my opinion. On the question which appears in the May issue, I wish to be emphatic in saying that our best chance of having prosperity in this country after the war is by helping the other nations to get back on their feet.

If we would forget that old Republican fetish, the protective tariff, which was intended (so it was argued) merely to help "infant" industries long since grown into powerful organizations, and permit a free interchange of commodities between nations, one fruitful cause of irritation between them would be eliminated.

The situation which has developed since our entry into the present global war has demonstrated that we are not a nation sufficient unto ourselves. Since we must deal with other peoples to maintain our own standards of living, it would seem to be self-evident that we can deal with them only if they are back on their feet.

Sioux Falls, South Dakota. JAMES D. BERDAHL.

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Shadows of Victory

VICTORY has come, but somehow the triumphant feeling which everyone has dreamed of during the hard years of war is absent. Instead of an unlimited sense of happiness and joy, instead of a feeling of relief so strong as to change the face of every free man, there was on Victory day and thereafter in the eyes of the people not more than a pale reflection of the earth-shaking news. Among the many factors which have undoubtedly contributed to that strong anti-climactic feeling is, of course, the fact that the war is not yet won and the important job of defeating Japan is still to be done. Then there is the fatigue of such a long and hard war. There is also in the people's subconscious a feeling of silent indignation that it should have been possible to inflict so much suffering upon humanity. There is the knowledge of horrors perpetrated on millions of human beings in German concentration camps, which will for a long time dampen every sense of joy. Last, but not least, the spectre of famine and death is still threatening large parts of the world.

And yet all this does not explain why the consciousness of victory is so strongly tempered with an uneasiness which spreads from Moscow to Paris, from Oslo to New York.

Frankly, there is a feeling that the unity of the Allies, which was a sacrosanct concept during the war, is being shifted out of its berth of inviolability. Furthermore, there is a feeling that the great promise of this war, the promise of spreading freedom and democracy, human rights and measures for economic prosperity, is not being fulfilled as rapidly as was expected. But all this is still of no importance from an historical point of view because the basic fact remains that the Allies fought for freedom and that they won the battle together. The major fact remains that their interests require more than ever the closest cooperation. A little bit more of the Rooseveltian spirit, an inner realization of the things the Allies have accomplished together, a strong will on the part of the statesmen to fulfill their pledges to the people, and the uneasiness would vanish as quickly as it came.

The shadows over the victory are very temporary. They cannot and will not last before a humanity which is marching on. The "one world" idea has become a people's idea, it is breaking through the usual diplomatic wrangles in the wake of a war. The people, having realized that victory is not an end in itself, but only a beginning, will complete their historic struggle started centuries ago, and will not rest until the establishment of a free world.

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San Francisco Diary

By Louis Dolivet

The intense drama of the great Conference to establish a World Organization is revealed in these intimate daily notes on the sessions. Newspaper accounts necessarily omit much interesting detail —the anxiety of the delegates, the enthusiasm of the Conference city's populace, the eagerness of the correspondents themselves. Here is a first-hand story of a great historical event.

Washington, April 19—In half an hour our special train called, "The Correspondent" will leave for San Francisco. Union Station which has always been overcrowded and cosmopolitan since Pearl Harbor seems even more exciting tonight. The station resembles the "Gare de Lyon" in Paris on the eve of an important meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Newspapermen from all lands with their typical traveling outfits, light bags and typewriters, are moving swiftly with the assurance of world travelers toward their cars.

The most famous among them are followed by whispers like Hollywood stars: "This is Walter Lippmann, there goes Eugene Meyer, the publisher of the *Washington Post,* that fellow there is from Reuters, the group of three here on the right are the people from France-Presse—one of them is a man from the Underground. This man here to the left is from the Chinese Central News Agency." Some of the well-known faces from Geneva are also here—Arthur Sweetser, for many years the highest American official at the League, Clarence Streit, formerly *New York Times* correspondent at the League, at present head of the Union Now Movement. The very name of the train, "The Correspondent" is an exciting one. One newspaperman next to me says it sounds like a title for a good mystery movie.

As usual, on these occasions, there are the "well informed." One of them gives us the latest news—the train has radio transmitters in every car, there will be shortwave broadcasts from the various parts of the world with special translators, twice a day special bulletins will be issued in different languages.

On Board the "Correspondent" Train, April 22—Well, we have been for three days on the train. My "well informed" friend was, as usual, wrong. There are no radios in every car. There is not even a single radio in the whole train. There are none who translate because there is nothing to be translated. As far as the bulletins are concerned there has been only a passenger list. We were lucky at one station to get a local newspaper in which the international news was given about one-tenth of the space.

Of course, the one most important thing everyone wanted to know was whether Mr. Molotov had or had not arrived in Washington. Hour after hour each day, at every station, newspapermen have run out on the platform anxiously inquiring whether he finally got there. When newspaper people are without news, they resemble dope addicts without a shot. At last we got confirmation, but not dramatically at all, not through any wire service or from any central office. At the last station a small Western Union boy triumphantly put an

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end to the anxiety of a group of inquiring newspapermen by saying, "Yeah, he got to Washington all right."

Little has been so interesting and moving during our trip as the people of the towns through which we pass. At each station they are there, waving encouragingly and hopefully at us, trying silently to convey the idea to each one of the travelers that they are expecting them to help make a success of San Francisco. So great is the friendship and hospitality shown by the people that even the most cynical newspaperman realizes that San Francisco has really become an object of hope to the common man. I will never forget the reception which took place in North Platte, Nebraska, where hundreds of people served a buffet prepared "exactly as for our boys." The good people of that community offered coffee and sandwiches, apples and peanuts, but above all they offered that spontaneous generosity which is worth more than material things.

San Francisco, April 25 – During the morning this city has taken on more and more the aspect of a capital of the world. In the streets people scrutinize every passerby. When a face appears strange the watcher smiles—maybe it's a foreign delegate! Delegates themselves are promptly won over by the hospitality of all inhabitants of San Francisco.

Much already has been written about the opening. Of course it was solemn. Perhaps a departure from the very traditional opening with Mayor and Governor would have been better. It might have been more dramatic to let the Mayor say a few words and then to bring to the stage a few authentic victims of nazism or fascism—a man who had been liberated from a concentration camp, a woman who had been abused by the Nazis, a veteran who had lost his eyesight. These would have been able to communicate a sense of urgency—that sense of absolute necessity to make the Conference succeed which may have been missing in the hearts of some of the delegates.

San Francisco, April 26 – During the morning it was whispered that Russia did not want to follow the conventional habits of international conferences and entrust the chairmanship exclusively to the United States delegation, host of the Conference. In the Steering Committee, composed of the representatives of 46 nations, the first clash occurred between Russia on one side and some of the delegates on the other. Russia's argument was that the Conference was called by four nations and, therefore, each one of the four should in turn preside at the Conference sessions. Incidentally, this was not very much of a departure from the habits of the League where the rotation principle was applied in the Council.

Padilla—Mexico

In the discussion within the Steering Committee, Mr. Padilla, the Mexican Foreign Minister, really committed a diplomatic "faux pas" by seeking too directly to teach the Russians diplomacy and courtesy. Mr. Molotov made it very clear that he didn't need a lesson in any of these arts. The incident ended happily with the compromise solution of a rotating chairmanship for the Big Four but a permanent chairmanship of the Working Committees for Mr. Stettinius.

The speeches by the Big Four were irreproachable from a liberal point of view, yet one couldn't help being amazed at the limitations proposed by the speakers, despite the fact that all agreed this was the last chance for humanity. There was contradiction, despite the absolutely correct appraisal of a world which has shrunk, in which no one can defend himself by his own means and in which new standards of democratic morality, equal rights and solidarity are necessary. Something was missing—something which Roosevelt might have been able to provide had he lived. Something for which the people still will have to fight a hard battle until they force the issue finally before international conferences.

April 29—Right after the opening of the Conference a local newspaper carried an article saying that the man in the street was cynical about the outcome. Frankly, that conclusion appeared too hasty to many

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of us, and not founded on an understanding of everyday people.

Accordingly, immediately after publication of this article, representatives of many organizations interested in world cooperation got together, among them FREE WORLD, Americans United for World Organization, American Association for the United Nations, and the International Center.

It was decided unanimously to call a mass meeting to report on the San Francisco Conference three days later, that is today. From an organizational standpoint, such a move involved considerable risk because the time was very short. However, the meeting, which was over just an hour ago, proved an overwhelming success. Twelve thousand people crowded the immense Civic Auditorium to listen to speeches by Charles Boyer, Walter Winchell, Robert Watt of the A.F.L., Philip Murray of the C.I.O., Dean Gildersleeve, Henri Torres, Clark Eichelberger and many others. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman presided at the meeting and as she closed there was immense applause from the public, which supported every one of the recommendations in favor of the San Francisco Conference made from the platform. Many hundreds of foreign delegates were present. A great number of them came to us to say how much they were impressed by the enthusiasm of the people of this city and how much they felt encouraged by this demonstration of interest in the Conference.

San Francisco, April 30—The plenary session today was the most exciting, yet the unhappiest of all meetings of the Conference. There was a dangerous electric charge in the air right from the start. We had known that in previous sessions behind closed doors "the going was tough," and we had learned that the fight for or against the admission of the militaristic fascist-inclined Argentine Government might possibly be thrashed out in the open. And so it was—again a new departure from traditional diplomacy, the rule of which is never to admit in the open (until war is declared) that there are any difficulties whatever. Well, in this session it was revealed to the whole world—friend and foe alike—that the Conference was divided on the important issue of the admission of Argentina.

The two points of view on this subject can be summarized as follows: The first, asking at least a postponement of the admission of Argentina because of the pro-fascist character of its government and its behavior during the war. The second, asking the admission of Argentina in the interest of inter-American solidarity, and offering as a supplementary argument the idea that this would strengthen rather than weaken domestically the hand of the Argentine democratic forces.

Mr. Molotov led the offensive against admission—some people complained about certain arguments he used, particularly with reference to the presence at the Conference of delegations from India and from the Philippines, which are not independent. However, the paramount fact emerging from this discussion was not that Mr. Molotov's arguments were good or bad, that mixing the Polish problem with the central issue was right or wrong, that dragging in India and particularly the Philippines was or was not a diplomatic mistake. The important fact that stands out is that at the very moment when the world is awakening from the nightmare of fascism, escaping from the most terrible danger it has ever faced, at San Francisco the almost-victorious Allies not only tolerate but even *invite* into their councils another fascist regime. The arguments for the admission of Argentina were very weak. Mr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, the Foreign Minister of Colombia, made the point that nations should not be judged in the light of their domestic policies but only from the angle of their respect for international obligations. With all due respect to Mr. Camargo, I think he has learned nothing from this World War. How often, in the past, have we heard that whatever Mussolini's domestic policy was, he was very correct in his international policy? The same was said for a long time of Hitler. The truth is very different from Mr. Camargo's statement to the United Nations. In my opinion, the truth is that a nation's domestic policy is strongly interrelated with its foreign policy. A fascist state will never accept international cooperation. It might for a few years behave quite decently, simply because it hasn't

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the necessary power to make trouble, but as soon as it becomes strong enough it will always attack another government. In the case of Argentina there is no doubt in my mind that if the Peron clique should have its way, it would organize the whole of South America against the "Yankees." Incidentally, it has already started doing so in Bolivia and Paraguay.

Mr. Padilla's argument, presenting the actual Argentine government as more or less an accident in the history of Argentina, was equally weak. But the most dangerous point of view came out in the passionate speech of Peru's dictatorship government representative, Victor Andres Belaundi. He didn't even insist on Argentina's fulfillment of international obligations, nor on that nation's prospects of achieving democracy. He baldly asked that the Argentine government be admitted "as is," without any qualification whatsoever. Mr. Belaundi spoke with the triumphant assurance of a man who knew that the majority was with him. His rhetoric and his gesticulations were frightening.

Argentina was admitted with an overwhelming majority and thus the first departure from United Nations principles was written into the books of history.

San Francisco, May 1—Everyone is worried. Some people fear that Russia may leave the Conference, but I think their fears are exaggerated. I still can't forget the meeting of yesterday and I am thinking about how the San Francisco Plenary Session should have acted on the Argentina problem. Had the governments represented in San Francisco really assimilated completely the lesson of fascism, they would have decided to address the most solemn invitation to Argentina, to the people of Argentina, to become a member of the United Nations. They would have established the seat, to remain for the time being vacant, until the great people of Argentina are able to rid themselves of that small dictator clique.

What noble encouragement such a policy would have given the people of the world. How much it would have strengthened inter-American unity. How much it would have lessened the apprehensions of Russia. How much more conciliatory it would have made Russia on other issues. What moral power it would have given to the Western democracies when they demand the application of full democracy everywhere in the world!

May 2—The Polish issue, which to my mind should never have been raised at San Francisco, will not be solved here. The viewpoints regarding it are too far apart, and a Conference which has as its main task to build a permanent structure for a World Organization simply cannot take up a matter as controversial as the Polish issue. Without a doubt, that question will have to be left for later direct negotiations among the interested powers.

May 3—A newspaperman came to me last night with a tabulation of the "real majority" in the Conference. To his and my unpleasant surprise we found that the Latin-Americans and the Arabians totaled 28 votes, or a majority of the 49 in the Plenary Session. As these two groups, even in the eyes of their most ardent supporters, do not represent the democratic wing of the Conference, this revelation certainly shows certain hazards in the World Organization that we must face.

May 4—Today the Conference gives certain clear indications of the final pattern of the coming World Charter. From discussions with many delegates and from the reports on the various meetings, it is evident that basically the security machinery will be in the hands of major powers; that the rights of the smaller powers will be increased in so far as consultation and right of initiative to bring up various matters is concerned, but that the use of the machinery of sanctions will depend on the unanimity of the five big powers.

Evatt—Australia

Today also there is bigger news than the application of the security machinery. It is that human rights, which so often have been scorned, will have at least some recognition in the forthcoming Charter. It is true there will be no machinery to implement the application of human rights. The illusion of the absolute sovereignty of

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States is still strong enough to make it impossible to provide a machinery for clear-cut application of basic human rights everywhere in the world. Yet, I cannot help but feel a deep satisfaction that a moral code is being set up, even though for a while to come it may exist only as an ideal—but an ideal which is definitely written into the Charter of the World Organization.

I must confess that the fixing of boundaries, and the application of military sanctions appear to me, and I am convinced to many others, less important than the existence of a world in which respect for human rights is regarded as the basic prerequisite for every member state of the new World Organization.

May 5—The Conference is now facing some of its major obstacles. It has a difficult task before it to reconcile the existence of an effective World Organization with the desire of some of the delegates, particularly the Latin Americans, to maintain a regional security system. Of course, there is no doubt from a purely logical point of view that if a World Security System is effectively functioning, a regional system becomes superfluous. Furthermore, the very existence of a regional security system might delay or render difficult, if not impossible, the functioning of a security system on a universal scale.

If the principle of a regional system is admitted; then we will have the inter-American regional system, one or two Pacific regional setups, a western European security setup, a Russian regional system, maybe a Nordic, a so-called Arab League, and others. Thus the World Security Organization as such would face not only the obstacle of the national State with its absolute sovereignty, but likewise that of the regional systems with their new allegiances and their conflicting interests.

May 13—The plans for the World Court are well advanced—the different committees and subcommittees, after having lost much valuable time in the beginning because of the weakness of one chairman or another—have found at last a working platform and the most able people are doing the drafting. The regional issue, despite the hard work of the U. S. and Australian delegations, still remains one of the obstacles of the Conference.

Many of the top delegates and journalists have left or are leaving. Those to whom San Francisco was only a big show are disappointed, believing it is virtually over. They are wrong. Much of the job is still to be done, and while the struggle for this or that sentence may seem today a battle of words, tomorrow it will have great importance in the maintenance of peace and international cooperation.

Conclusion

THE limitations of space force me to skip many pages of the diary. Trusteeship, the Social and Economic Council, functions of the Secretariat, powers of the Assembly, Intellectual Cooperation and many other vital subjects will have to remain buried for a while.

As I see it, the basic difficulty of the Conference consisted in the fact that it had to build the framework for a world organization only six years after Munich. It had to build it on the existence of absolute sovereign states, whose so-called prerogatives are jealously guarded, if not by the people, at least by their governments. Among these governments there were at least four different types represented: (1) Democratic, (2) Communist, (3) Dictatorial, with many fascist characteristics, (4) Transitional regimes, whose final orientation is yet unknown. The peaceful co-existence and cooperation of the first two is indispensable if peace shall be preserved. The third category must disappear because the war itself was waged precisely against similar regimes in Europe. The fourth category will rapidly assume definitive form with free elections. The San Francisco Charter and the subsequent world organization can for a while be only auxiliary instruments, their existence depending on the general peace settlement. In other words, if a just peace is established, and if a basic political and economic agreement is reached among the victorious powers, then and only then can the new organization function effectively.

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Notes on *San Francisco*

These observations on the progress of the World Security Conference were written by the author while it was in session. They have the freshness and intimacy of a firsthand account.

by

MAX ASCOLI

"God protect me from the perfectionists; I can take care of the cynics!"

WHY San Francisco? Why was the Conference called at San Francisco, rather than at any other American city? It is enough to come here to understand the answer. This is a mid-war conference, held in the American city of which Pearl Harbor is the outpost on the ocean. It is the city that was threatened on December 7, 1941. The State Department constantly stresses the fact that this is not the Peace Conference. Of course it is not, for it is here that we are attempting the controlled transition from war to peace.

This is a very strange conference: a conference without heroes. There was a man who was expected to inaugurate the Conference and to direct it—but death has taken him away from us. As a result, the average level of the Conference was less dramatic, marked by greater uniformity. The first day, when the Conference opened, the one feeling that gripped everyone present, came from that absence. That platform had been built for him. His absence was as overwhelming as his presence would have been. Perhaps that was the best tribute that could be paid to his memory—a tribute that could not be spoiled by words or rhetoric, that nobody could pay adequately and that can never be adequately paid.

The speeches started; a long series of speeches stretched out for days. It was a serious, a necessary business. The speeches were telling a story: a story that the delegates of the small and medium nations had not come to San Francisco just for the ride. The most forceful and impressive speakers have been the delegates of democratic countries such as Australia, New Zealand, or Norway.

THERE is a theme that is repeated over and over again in almost every speech and in most of the press conferences of the delegates of all nations. It emphasizes that the Social and Economic Council is just as important as the Security Council and the whole political structure that is to be blueprinted here. Unless conditions are created all over the world that bring a certain minimum of well-being within the reach of men willing to work, unless something is done to make attainable some measure of economic and social security, no machinery of political security is going to work.

This is particularly interesting since it is already clear that very little, if anything, is going to be done at San Francisco on the social and economic level. We have just arrived here, we have not yet finished unpacking, and we are already looking forward to the next conference and to the long hard pull in between conferences.

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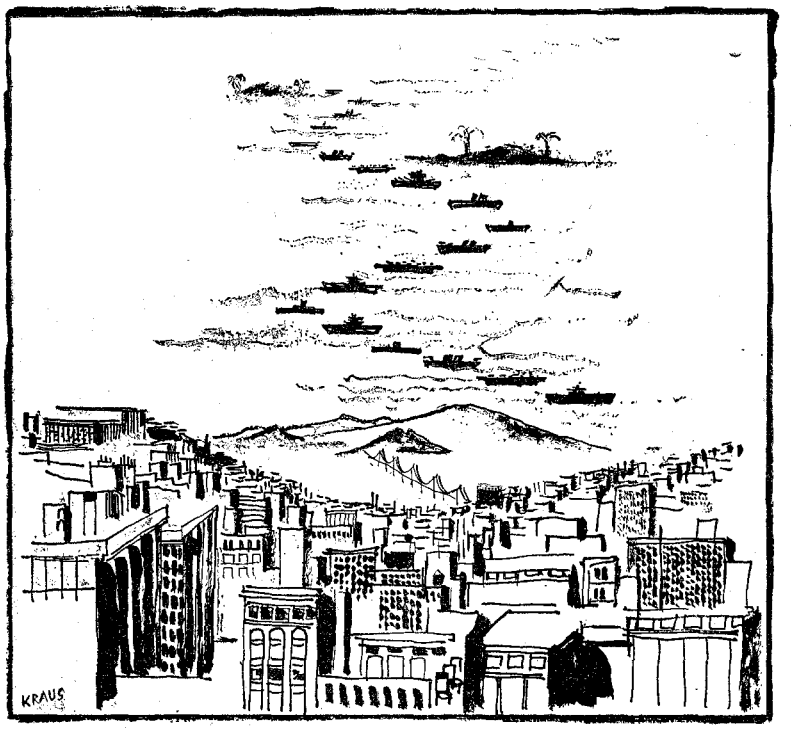

WHAT has been tried here is a gigantic city-planning job. While the blueprinting job is just being started, the cornerstone of the main building is being ceremoniously laid.

AND then the Argentine bombshell exploded. For the first time in the history of international relations a serious political controversy has been settled by a majority vote. A democratic principle, the majority principle, has been used to reach a result which is an insult to democracy. On the Argentine issue the Assembly of Nations, all sovereign and equal irrespective of power and size, has asserted its sovereignty. It is unfortunate that the first use of collective sovereignty should have been a misuse.

HAS the American delegation a policy? It has techniques and technicians, tendencies and instincts that become rather shy when they have to mirror themselves in the light of reason. This makes the Latins very uncomfortable because they believe in the supreme guidance of some principle, and it makes the Russians even more uncomfortable and suspicious because they believe in the supreme guidance of a man. Now, the leading political ideas of the American State Department, the key ideas, the programs, the policies, are kept so secret that nobody is entrusted with their formulation. Nobody, since Roosevelt died. Since his death the American policy has not changed. Only, it has become as it used to be, speechless. It has, so to speak, gone underground. This makes everybody, Latins and Russians, restless and unhappy. It also makes a large number of Americans restless and unhappy. We miss Roosevelt so cruelly because he had made America intelligible and lovable to the American people themselves and to the whole world.

THE job is: how to control the interplay of the forces which have brought the United Nations to victory—and use them for well defined purposes. The power of the three great nations must gradually be transformed into the legal order of the world, with the greatest possible participation of all the countries of the world.

It is an appalling job to translate crude facts into law, yet it is absolutely imperative, because power left to itself runs amuck. There are enough conflicts of mentalities and of interests here in San Francisco to furnish fuel for twenty total wars. Yet the

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cost in lives and in material all over the world has been so great that the people everywhere cannot afford another total war —at least for our generation.

This is why all these physically worn-out intolerances are here trying to cooperate on the same job. A growth of power that has so far been accidental and dictated by the tumultuous events of war must now proceed according to criteria dictated by our own foresight. The job must be done otherwise we shall betray not only ideas and ideals, but our own interest of self-preservation. This everyone knows. No delegation can go home unless it brings from San Francisco some kind of a charter. The legitimacy of the existing governments will be determined by their contribution to this charter.

ADOLPH HITLER has gone. He was the one who chose the Allies for us, who decided when and at which moment each nation had to go to war. He has been the prompter of our determination, the main element of cohesion among the United Nations. What are we going to do now without Adolph Hitler?

The governments of the great powers, in order to win the war, have exerted a virtual dictatorship on the world. Now they must cooperate among themselves, while trying to gain the endorsement of their own people and of the people of the world. This is the job which is being started here.

San Francisco is not going to legislate peace at large, a peace according to immemorial ideals. In fact, it is not even going to legislate this peace. It is going to develop some general and highly provisional criteria according to which the legislation of the next peace can be drawn. It is not Versailles, and it is not—much less—Philadelphia. It is the first "Committee of the Whole," the first Caucus for the formation of some basic agreements that may make future conferences, future constitutional conventions possible. It is concerned mostly with rules of procedure. Certainly a charter will come out of San Francisco. But it will be written in washable ink. We will have to go over it and transcribe it and improve on it over and over again, before it may be really carved on a stone so hard that it may stand the test of time.

WHAT San Francisco has already achieved is amazing. The principle of majority decision, which when thoughtlessly and recklessly adopted, almost blew up the Assembly, is being used all the time, as a matter of course in all committee meetings. The veto power used to be claimed by every nation as an integral attribute of sovereignty. Now, it is cornered and badly on the defensive. The claim to it is advanced only by some major powers, and the use of it is being restricted to a constantly narrowed area.

BEFORE coming to San Francisco most of us thought that international problems and international politics had acquired absolute priority over internal problems and internal politics everywhere. We used to think of the nations of liberated Europe as battlegrounds of international political forces. But here we see that as long as a nation is a battleground of international forces, its internal order is not secure and peace is not secure. The inter-relation between internal and external politics, in every country, is more complex than we like to think—particularly we, the so-called internationalists. In order to have international democracy we need internal democracies as well as independent nations.

Perhaps, strictly speaking, democracy is essentially an internal political affair. It demands the independence of small and great countries if men are ever to have a chance to become citizens of the world.

What can be done on the international level is to assure a margin of security to national independencies, and create conditions that allow the independent countries to be democratic and strong. The lesson of San Francisco for all men of good will is to go home and start building good democracies there. Then, some time after, we get together again and start the good work where we left it at San Francisco.

THE Conference goes on. It just cannot break up. It goes on and it cannot break up because mankind cannot commit suicide. There is something like a public opinion of the world that one can feel here, and that moves these tired, harassed men to do their job. What the job has been, we shall see when the Conference ends.

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HEADLINERS

RUSSIA'S MOLOTOV

By

HENRY C. CASSIDY

AP Correspondent, formerly in Moscow

VYACHESLAV MIKHAILOVICH MOLOTOV has emerged from the obscurity of the Kremlin and the impassivity of his previous Slavic personality to become a spectacular and significant figure of modern diplomacy. This transformation of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs constitutes a fascinating subject for examination, and it may well be taken as a reflection of the new Soviet policy of international cooperation.

Only a matter of months ago it was Molotov who would say "Tsk Tsk" when Marshal Stalin started to raise another glass of vodka. It was Molotov whose expression would remain imperturbable while those around him were waxing merry. It was Molotov who would imply "Hush-hush" when his companions were loquacious.

Now all that has changed. The restraint has been cast aside; the frozen face has melted in a smile and the speech is flowing. Socially, Molotov has become a good fellow. Politically, he has become a sensation.

The transformation is best summed up in the words of a veteran foreign diplomat who has been in Moscow for years and who has had frequent contacts with Molotov. "When I first came here if anyone had told me I would like Molotov, I should have thought he was crazy," this diplomat said, "but now, you know, I really like the man."

The beginnings of this process of transformation can be traced back to the spring of 1942 when Molotov made his first important trip abroad. Until then his career ás professional revolutionary, journalist, Communist Party and Soviet Government official had confined him to his own country. He lacked the experience of the Western World gained by Lenin and the other revolutionaries in exile. He rose to the heights of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and Commissar for Foreign Affairs in an atmosphere of suspicion if not ignorance of his Western contemporaries.

His 1942 trip to London, where he signed the twenty-year Anglo-Soviet Alliance and to Washington where he came to an understanding on common conduct of the war, must have opened his eyes to the virtues as well as the strength of our democracies. Certainly it opened his mind and his mouth, for it was then that he became the man we know today

I recall one occasion on which he showed his new spirit. It may seem trivial or superficial, but it was interesting as an indication of his sentiment. It occurred at the Foreign Commissar's annual reception for the diplomatic corps, November 7, 1943, the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Revolution.

Molotov, who had usually maintained an attitude of polite but stiff aloofness on such occasions, really unbent this time. After the traditional concert in the White Music Room of Spiridonovka Palace, he waved his guests into seven dining rooms where buffet supper was spread, and proceeded to pass from room to room in almost baronial style, clinking glasses and proposing toast after toast.

During the evening he sat in a corner eating with British Ambassador Sir Archibald Clark Kerr and a few other chosen companions. Gradually the hundreds of guests gathered around them in an extraordinary demonstration of mutual felicitations, handshaking and good fellowship that was only broken up when Molotov's bodyguards pushed through the crowd and bustled him away.

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Lest anyone think this festivity was carried to extremes, let me add that at the next reception for foreigners on Red Army Day, February 23, 1944, Molotov went through the same gestures of friendship again but quietly suggested to Sir Archibald Clark Kerr that they confine their toasts to mild white wine in their small vodka glasses. That was the Molotov of international society, an inevitable adjunct of international diplomacy on two of the most important dates of the Soviet calendar. But 363 other nights and days of the year there was the Molotov of many labors. Few persons abroad appreciate that throughout the war in Europe he was in charge of Soviet tank production as well as foreign affairs. It was as though Cordell Hull, in addition to the international relations that finally broke his health, had undertaken some of the tasks of Donald Nelson.

Moreover, Molotov served as member of the State Committee of Defense, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and the Council of People's Commissars, combining the functions of wartime administrator, political party leader and government executive. It was a backbreaking burden for any but the strongest and most efficient. Molotov survived the strain.

I recall the Sunday night in April 1944 when he called the correspondents to the Foreign Commissariat for an important announcement. War-weary or homesick or blasé as some of the correspondents were, we were all excited. This was an unusual occasion; Molotov's first wartime meeting with us. And the news was of high importance—the Red Army's crossing of the Pruth river into Romania after the long fight back from the Volga to Russia's western frontier. But Molotov at this climatic moment of his own and his country's war effort was calm and unflurried.

It was late in the evening but he walked into his outer office as fresh as an American businessman appearing for an early lunch. He wore the dark business suit he still prefers to the uniform of the Soviet diplomatic service. His sparse gray hair was neatly combed, his eyeglasses firmly fixed on his broad nose, his mustache closely cropped. He sat down in matter of fact manner at the head of his light polished birch conference table, read his announcement steadily, answered a few questions quickly and then went away to the rest of his night's work.

In addition to the Molotov of society and of the business office, there is still another Molotov, newest and most striking of all. That is Molotov of the international conference. This aspect of the many-sided man we discovered at San Francisco.

Molotov is not a large man. He stands about five feet six inches. Nor had he ever been considered a very strong man. Many deemed him simply a meek assistant to Marshal Stalin. But at San Francisco it was generally considered that he towered over his colleagues of the United Nations Conference on International Organization in strength and toughness.

During the opening weeks that he remained in the sessions, Molotov kept up a stiff pace that had some of his competitors gasping. He made two speeches at plenary sessions which were the hardest hitting of the opening phase, one stating the Soviet stand for a powerful world security organization, the other opposing Argentine participation in the Conference. He held three news conferences which were the liveliest and most newsworthy of that time.

In the privacy of conference committee rooms he displayed an even firmer hand, arguing his points with tenacity, never hesitating to make the power of the Soviet Union felt and sometimes injuring the feelings if not the pride of his fellow delegates. He showed little respect for the delicate niceties or time-consuming oratory of traditional old-school diplomacy.

A typical case occurred when a Latin American delegate rose and made a speech that must have seemed long and pompous to Molotov on a question which had already been under debate for some time. Molotov said caustically something to this effect: "You must have written, memorized and rehearsed that speech before you came here because you have not mentioned any of the pertinent points we have been discussing." Some of the delegates murmured protests against such frankness, but they got on with the business.

Then, with the war in Europe over, Molotov was the first of the chief delegates to hurry home to other work. One wonders what new Molotov will turn up next.

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS FORUM

U. S. Senators Discuss San Francisco

How important are the results of San Francisco to the cause of establishing an enduring peace between the nations? Have the conversations of international delegates there been successful, or did strife over minor problems cloud the main objectives? What is America's role in maintaining the function of world organization? These questions are here discussed and placed in their historical setting by two Republican and two Democratic Senators.

I.

By

CLAUDE D. PEPPER
Democrat, Florida

DESPITE sobering difficulties that have arisen, I am confident that our delegates and the delegates of the other United Nations at San Francisco will successfully accomplish their main task of setting up the basic pattern and machinery for the World Security Organization. The suffering, the devotion and the will to peace of the people all over the world will brook no less. And the delegates cannot falter.

But the machinery set up at San Francisco is not an end in itself; it is the means to that end of lasting peace for which we and our Allies have fought in Africa and Europe and are fighting now in Asia and the islands of the Pacific. The work of San Francisco will not be completed, then, until we have waged two other struggles.

First, we must secure Senate approval of the machinery established at San Francisco. Second, and even more important, we must make sure that the machinery of peace will be made to work effectively by the concerted will and continued unity of the great powers.

We cannot relax our efforts or diminish our vigilance if we are to secure the required two-thirds approval of the peace machinery in the Senate. Due, perhaps, to the grave problems that have arisen, some observers consider this approval difficult of attainment today. On the other hand, the manner in which some of these perlexing questions have been handled at San Francisco seems to some observers to increase the chances of Senate approval.

We need to understand these problems, and to probe the difficulties that arose. To gloss them over, to ignore them, or to view them with easy optimism or even easier prejudice, would weaken our own efforts to establish the peace organization, and would strengthen those enemies of international organization who have already exaggerated the tensions and belittled the positive accomplishments of the Conference.

In seeking the source of these difficulties

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we are handicapped by our distance from the Conference — a barrier which has not been diminished by the often highly colored and ill-tempered accounts found in many sections of the press. In this connection we should be grateful to the realistic reporting of such observers as Walter Lippmann and the staffs of the *Washington Post,* the New York *Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times,* to mention but a few. With this limitation, I would say that the root of the problems that arose at San Francisco was two-fold. First, there was insufficient allowance made for the grave difficulties that might arise to strain the unity of the great powers as victory in Europe approached. In our enthusiasm at the prospect of victory, we failed to see that the end of hostilities did not automatically insure continued unity, that the antagonisms and fears restrained by the necessity for unity in war were less restrained by the necessity to establish a durable structure of peace.

Second, and I think bound up with the first, we did not deeply appreciate or understand the central role which Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in his great wisdom, sought to have America play for the maintenance of the unity of the powers in peace as in war. Failing to understand fully the central role of America in keeping the concert of powers, we have by that measure failed to diminish the strains produced by the end of the war in Europe.

Differences Exaggerated

ALL of the major problems and difficulties that arose in San Francisco fall into better perspective if we understand what Roosevelt so keenly saw as America's strategic role for the unity of the great powers beyond military victory. Having nothing to fear—save the outbreak of new devastations —and nothing to gain—save lasting peace itself—American power and American dominance must wisely be used to still and abate, not intensify, ancient fears and antagonisms, to conciliate differences and not join in perpetuating or exacerbating them.

The issues fought over in San Francisco are not yet settled. But I think the struggles that took place will increase our understanding, and renew our determination to resume our strategic role in preserving the unity of the powers. Those who do not want the San Francisco Conference to succeed in establishing a permanent structure of peace have welcomed and exaggerated the differences that have arisen. They have done their worst to intensify the atmosphere of ill-will and suspicion, aiming particularly at embroiling America in artificial struggles with the Soviet Union, today's favorite international whipping boy. I might remind you that yesterday many of these same people were exaggerating our differences with Britain, just as tomorrow they will seize upon any difference to decry the possibility of establishing an international organization based on the agreement of the great powers.

It will be no easy matter to overcome a tendency toward disillusionment and defeatism spread with calculation by the enemies of international organization. I think we should be grateful to the more responsible observers of the Conference for helping us to a realistic appraisal of the Conference and its dangers. For only a realistic facing of the dangers will prevent the success of cynicism which is a more insidious and dangerous barrier to American participation in a world organization than outright opposition.

It will be easier to fight those who openly oppose the world organization than the spreaders of gloom and disillusion we shall find in Congress, in the press, on the radio, using every means to break up the unity that made military victory possible and that can make the world peace machinery work.

As citizens, our task is to preserve and strengthen that unity of the great powers which Franklin Roosevelt sought to the tragic end of his days, and which alone can make for enduring peace. I am confident that as he quietly but firmly takes over the reins of foreign policy, President Harry S. Truman will use the great power and prestige of America to maintain that unity and to resist every effort to destroy it.

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II.

We Can Discount the Skeptics

By

SENATOR GEORGE D. AIKEN
Republican, Vermont

AS I write this, delegates from nearly fifty nations are meeting at San Francisco to establish an international organization for the promotion of peace and economic well-being for the peoples of the world. They have met to determine the form and the powers of the organization which will free the people of all nations from periodic wars and unbalanced economies.

As I follow the deliberations of the San Francisco Conference, I think back to that memorable Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1789. During those weeks while the delegates of the thirteen colonies were working out the vast series of compromises which is still the framework of our Federal Government, there must have been times when it appeared as though there never could be a meeting of the minds between the followers of Jefferson and the followers of Hamilton. I have come to the realization that those growing pains bore the same relationship to our strikingly successful system of checks and balances as the differences of the United States, England, Russia and the smaller powers of Europe and Latin America bear to the future system of world security which will be evolved.

The people of the world demand peace after the unspeakable holocaust of today's war just as earnestly as the people of America demanded an organized government after the chaos of British Colonial rule and the American Revolution.

As I watch the variations of opinion become welded into a strong front of civilization against the ravages of war and want, I realize that just as the Constitution itself was the preamble to American political and economic democracy, so will the San Francisco agreement be only the beginning of international collaboration in our political and economic world.

When America first started on the road to freedom and economic security for her people, she enacted a Constitution. But fundamental to the success of that Constitution was the Bill of Rights which had to be added before it could be ratified by the requisite number of states and thus make possible not only political solidarity, but the economic development of manufacture, free trade, and agriculture across the continent. The first ten amendments to the Constitution meant more to the success of the new government than did the number of representatives to the Congress or the formula for enacting legislation. Let us not forget the analogy of our own history to the San Francisco Conference and the agreement which will be devised there.

A bill of rights and the promise of economic opportunity and security for all men must either be a part of or quickly follow any charter for political organization that will come out of San Francisco.

Skeptics and Scoffers

LET us not be too disturbed at the reports of dissension among the delegates at the Conference, for differences are not only inevitable, but if brought to the forefront now will, in the long run, make for a more stable foundation. There are no obstacles that are insurmountable if the will to overcome them is there. Certainly, no conference of the nations of the world was ever more firmly supported by the people of all nations in their will for peace.

San Francisco has its skeptics and its scoffers. Even while the delegates work earnestly to pave the road to a humane world, there are those who by intemperate speech and action would plant the seeds of suspicion among the nations. The scoffers and the skeptics are not new. Every great move-

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ment in the cause of human progress has had to endure them. We cannot expect to escape them now. Their pettiness will be ineffective. The fact that men and women of nearly all nations and races, supported by the will of their people, have worked for weeks to write the formula for world peace and security is of itself one of the most outstanding events of history.

I believe that out of San Francisco will come, not the perfect charter for world organization, but one which will more nearly meet the needs of humanity than we have had before and which will take us a long way toward a tangible realization of the principles for which sixty million dead and wounded of two world wars have made their sacrifice.

III.

The World Wants More Democracy

By

ELBERT D. THOMAS
Democrat, Utah

ANYONE who needs to be convinced concerning the necessity of world organization and the historic importance of the San Francisco Conference, should do what I have just done: go to Europe and witness with his own eyes the ravages that war and fascism have wrought on a great portion of humanity. Until one sees the atrocities committed by the Nazis one cannot realize the horror of the régime which was established in Germany. Nor can one adequately measure the great danger we ourselves have escaped.

There is no doubt in my mind that had the nazi régime succeeded in Europe, and had it crushed both Britain and Russia, its next objective would have been the United States. The Nazis would have planned the invasion of our soil with all the science and modern technique necessary for a successful operation against us. Had they succeeded in invading our country they would have treated us exactly as they treated the peoples of Europe.

When I turn my eyes to the San Francisco Conference and to all other international agreements now being discussed, I do so having fully in mind these perils which we escaped. It is my definite conviction that the unity of the big powers is the most effective first step to be taken for the maintenance of the peace. As long as the big powers hold together and work together in unity, peace will be effective. Of course, there will always be little problems and frictions to deal with, a boundary problem here and there—but if the people and the governments of the great powers are decided to solve these problems by common understanding, none of them can become a major danger to the peace of the world.

As a matter of fact there are two methods which present themselves to humanity. One is the method of cooperation. That means that the member states of the United Nations work together in all fields, economically, intellectually, industrially, politically. If any problem arises, their representatives sit together in the United Nations Conference or International Organization to discuss the problem and recommend the measures necessary to avoid dangerous implications. Their cooperation must be extended not only to the field of prevention of war but also to that of work on positive problems, particularly in the economic field.

I submit that economic isolationism is as much out of date as military or political isolationism. Neither our country nor any other country can hope to maintain the peace or its independence by itself. No country can reasonably hope, over a long

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period of time, to maintain economic prosperity and full employment without full cooperation of the others. Right now the world needs economic cooperation as badly as we needed military cooperation during the war. That is why I am particularly happy that at San Francisco the Social and Economic Council has been given so much prominence, and that it really looks likely that that body will emerge as one of the major instruments of international cooperation.

The Alternative

THE only other alternative is the method of ruthless distrust, of limited armaments and of preparation for World War III.

I just cannot believe that any sensible human being will hesitate to choose between the two methods. I think that at San Francisco it has been clearly demonstrated that despite all its difficulties humanity can and must work in harmony.

Let me repeat, a world of peace is not a world of bliss. There will be clashes of interests; there will be great discussions; there will be common talk; and there will be plenty of side-taking on the part of writers, partisans, propagandists, and even advantage-takers.

The people of the world should realize that the fundamental suggestions for international organization are based upon the theory of consultation, deliberation, and discussion; all of which add up to the simple word, talk. If you are afraid of those clashes you cannot have democratic procedures. For an American to be fearful of those aspects of the processes of democracy merely means that that American has paid no attention to his own history. Judging from our own experience, America is always in a state of turmoil.

World peace is the important objective. The technique of how it can be maintained is equally important. Surely no one wants to solve all of the world's problems at one sitting. Whenever I am discouraged about the movement of great causes throughout the earth I read our own history. The fundamentals underlying the American Revolution are fundamentals which ultimately must have universal application. The American Revolution is still in process of fulfillment. The world, I am sure, likes what we have done so far and wants more of liberty, representation, democracy, and federal type institutions. They are coming but they will not come by fiat.

IV.

A Milestone To Peace

By

H. ALEXANDER SMITH
Republican, New Jersey

THE San Francisco Conference, in my judgment, will go down in history as a most important milestone on the road to peace. Its importance can only be appreciated if we realize that it is but one more of a succession of milestones on that same road. The principal danger in looking at the results attained at San Francisco is in the assumption that some final, grandiose, over-all plan for preserving the peace of the world must come out of this conference.

In our own United States we have seen, during the last few years, the evolution of a strong national conviction. We have moved from hesitation and doubt as to the wisdom and safety of our cooperation in some form of world organization for the preservation of the peace to a deep national conviction, which is nation-wide, that

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this is very definitely the way ahead for us.

In arriving at this conviction, and in the development and strengthening of it, there has been a succession of steps. The Republican Party, at Mackinac Island in 1943, issued a striking statement on Foreign Policy. Coming as it did from the Republican leadership of the country, it made an important contribution. Shortly afterward there followed the Fulbright Resolution in the House of Representatives and the Connally Resolution in the Senate, both passed by overwhelming bipartisan votes. This was at about the same time that Secretary Hull participated for the United States in the Moscow Agreements by which the United States, Great Britain and Russia undertook to collaborate in a world organization to preserve the future peace. The political conventions of both the Republican and Democratic parties of 1944 reaffirmed the same principle. In the fall of 1944 and following the conventions, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference was held, and thereafter the Yalta conference, the Mexican conference at Chapultepec and now the United Nations conference in San Francisco.

If we can look upon this succession of events as milestones on the road that we are traveling, and bear in mind that no one of these milestones is a final destination, we can get the right perspective of the entire movement. This perspective will make us realize that what we are seeking is not final perfection this early in our gropings for a new world, but rather progress. Yalta was a very distinct milestone in this progress with all its limitations and with all its subsequent misunderstandings. There are real difficulties at San Francisco, as we see from the daily papers, and there will be more difficulties before that important conference adjourns. But I predict, without fear of contradiction, that San Francisco will be another and significant milestone and will take us far along the road on which we are traveling. Let me repeat that we must not expect perfection from San Francisco, but we can expect progress, and let us rejoice as that progress is made.

As I try to see the whole picture and use a telescope for vision rather than a microscope to find the difficulties and shortcomings, I see an enormous advance in world collaboration from the very fact that we have representatives of forty-nine nations sitting around the table and discussing those differences which in the past have divided peoples and been the cause of conflict and war. But in addition to discussing the causes of past conflicts and wars, these same nations are thinking in terms of the uniting forces in the world and what can be done to bring the world together in the future with increasing opportunities for all peoples and the protection of small states as well as minorities within states.

Importance of Unity

OF course, we are faced with the stark fact that some nations of the world are powerful and large, and some are weak and small. We know that the force and power of the world at the present moment is concentrated in our own country, in Great Britain and in Russia. If we are realists, we are aware that the peace of the world must be preserved by these nations acting as trustees for all the other nations pending such time as we can set up an effective and practical organization to preserve the peace. And we must realize that the unity of the United States, Great Britain and Russia, to which must be added France and China, as the five great powers, must be preserved if we are to prevent another conflagration.

Technically, the so-called veto power on the Security Council is a troublesome problem and from an organization standpoint it may be argued that it is fundamentally unsound. From a practical standpoint, however, the important thing is to preserve the solidarity of the five great powers in guarding the peace of the world, recognizing that irrespective of the technical veto question, the defection of any one of these great powers could very well precipitate World War III and destroy the whole structure. I can envisage a situation arising in our own Western Hemisphere where, because of the Act of Chapultepec, we would feel that the Western Hemisphere group was competent to handle the situation. Under such circumstances we might be glad to veto the participation of

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the world-wide Security Council in this Western Hemisphere problem. The solution to all these problems must evolve from experience—from the trial and error method—maintaining all the while the main structure and experimenting with the best ways to preserve the peace in the different regions of the world.

There has been much talk about an International Bill of Rights being incorporated in the San Francisco agreements. I hope sincerely that a start may be made in this direction, but here again we must realize that we are dealing with peoples who have been widely separated geographically, by language, by racial traditions and prejudices and, above all, by diverse ideologies and religions. The minds of Western Europe and the Americas function differently from the minds of Central Europe, the Near East, Central Asia and the Far East. Because we Anglo-Saxons think that certain standards of conduct are right, it does not necessarily follow that these other minds will have the same conception of right, and it certainly would not be "right" for us to try to impose our definitions on others.

It does seem to me, however, and I hope the San Francisco agreements will reflect this idea, that we can find a universal common ground if we can think of freedom in its largest sense as the absence of physical control of an individual or group of individuals over the destinies of other individuals or groups; if we can think of the right of those who are governed to select those who are to govern them; and above all, if we can think of the principle of equality of opportunity as a fundamental right of both individuals and nations.

If we could grasp these simple conceptions of freedom and equality of opportunity, it seems to me that we would have a new vision of what we mean when we oppose discriminations because of race, creed or color; when we fight prejudices or persecutions because of race, creed or color; what we mean by the establishment of justice through the Rule of Law; what we mean when we look forward eagerly to the flowering of an ultimate human brotherhood of understanding and tolerance. These principles are vital. Only if the machinery of the "Charter of Peace" has life and a "soul" can peace be permanent and lasting.

By the hard road of suffering, the United States sees now that it can no longer live alone and should no longer live alone. We will emerge from this war the most powerful and influential nation in the world. We cannot, if we would, ignore the responsibilities of leadership that will be ours. Nor can we morally ignore the obligations that will be thrust upon us.

We must not become discouraged or look backward. We must courageously look forward to the victory of human freedom and to the setting up of a world organization to preserve that freedom. For, after all, freedom is the condition of peace.

We must hold to our faith—faith that these things can be done—faith in America—faith in our United States Constitution—faith in ourselves as Americans—faith in our fellow men and in the ultimate goodness of the people who comprise the peace-loving nations.

And finally, faith in the God of our fathers who guided our early destinies and who will guide us today in this hour of our great responsibility and opportunity.

Our Picture Section

Write and tell us what you think of the sixteen page picture section on the San Francisco Conference in this issue. Would you prefer to have such a supplement of drawings and photographs as a regular feature of each issue replacing a like number of pages of reading matter? The editors have such a regular feature under consideration for future issues, but want your opinion on it before making a final decision.

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LABOR AT SAN FRANCISCO ASKS:

Universal Guarantees For Workers

Labor feels its responsibility and its need to participate in the making of the peace as well as in the winning of the war. At San Francisco CIO's Philip Murray asked for a universal bill of rights, for a broadening in all countries of measures to prevent unemployment, and for international policies to promote the educational and cultural interests of the people.

BY

C. W. FOWLER

ACROSS the bay from San Francisco, over the superbly beautiful Golden Gate Bridge, a group of men have been meeting for more than a month to put the force of organized labor behind world security and well-being.

The group is the Administrative Committee of the World Trade Union Conference. The people they represent are 60,000,000 workers from thirty-five nations and their purpose is to build a new world labor confederation and to secure for it a voice in the World Security Organization being set up by the government delegates across the bridge.

The forerunner of this meeting was in London, where trade union leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the rest of Europe, Latin America, China, India and the British Dominions met last February on the invitation of the British Trades Union Congress to discuss the "basis for a new world labor federation."

Actually, the background goes well beyond February 1945, to 1942, when President Philip Murray of the CIO took the initiative in urging "full and direct collaboration of the trade union movements . . . of the United Nations" to help secure "complete victory over fascism and assure a just and democratic peace for all people."

On repeated urging by CIO, the Soviet trade unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labor (CTAL), and the British workers, the first all-inclusive world trade union meeting was held in London three years later.

At this London meeting, the delegates unanimously issued a *Call to All Peoples* which said, in discussing labor's role in crushing German and Japanese fascism and in building the peace and world security to come:

"Organized labor, with so great a part in winning the war, cannot leave to others—however well-intentioned they may be—the sole responsibility of making the peace. The peace will be a good peace, an enduring peace, a peace worthy of the sacrifices by which it has been won, only if it reflects the deep resolve of the free peoples, their interests, their desires and their needs."

The statement was not made in the narrow sense of a demand for exclusive "labor"

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representation at the peace table. It was made with the experience of 1919 in mind, when the working class was deliberately and rigorously excluded from the peace planning—and with the ghastly failures of post-1919 vivid in every delegate's mind.

World labor, because its institutions have historically been the first to suffer attack from fascism, realized that permanent cooperation must be achieved to secure itself against the terror of organized state reaction.

The unions in countries that experienced fascism at first hand furnished the leaders and a good part of the rank and file of the fight against it. In France, the officials and members of the Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT) played a leading part in the resistance. In the Soviet Union, the trade unionists of Leningrad, Stalingrad and a hundred strategic cities worked under nazi fire, took rifles and fought at the gates of their plants. In this hemisphere, the workers of the CIO, the CTAL and the AFL were in large measure responsible for the "miracles of production" that made victory possible.

AFL Not Represented

WHEN their delegates met in London in the first world labor congress, they appointed representatives to come to America to work out the draft of a constitution for the new United Nations labor body, to be submitted to the full meeting again in Paris this coming September.

Representing the CIO (the AFL still held out against the new world labor organization) were Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. Representing Britain were Sir Walter Citrine and Ebby Edwards, who head the TUC. The Soviet Union sent V. Kuznetsov and M. Tarasov; France sent Louis Saillant and Benoit Frachon—both of them leaders of the National Council of Resistance. Latin America's representative was Lombardo Toledano, leader of the four-million-strong CTAL, and China's Association of Labor designated H. T. Liu.

Incidentally, the World Labor Conference did better than UNCIO in at least one respect—it did not permit delegates from fascist countries such as Argentina or Spain to sit, although such an invitation was sought.

The constitution's first rough draft was worked out in Washington in April, and then the delegates moved on to San Francisco to complete their work and to make their representations to the Security Conference.

Two of the delegates had official standing at the meeting. They were President Murray of the CIO, who was a consultant to the American delegation, and Kuznetsov, chairman of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions and a member of the Soviet delegation to UNCIO.

Naturally a great part of the labor delegates' work at the Oakland end of the Golden Gate Bridge was concerned with the problems of the new labor body. The delegates, however, did have the responsibility of carrying out the instructions of the London meeting cited in the *Call To All Peoples.*

CIO's Philip Murray, in his first public meeting at San Francisco, expressed his confidence that the security meeting would be "a success because it must be a success." He asked for the following:

1. Creation by UNCIO of a commission "to promote the worldwide educational and cultural interests of all peoples."

2. A "universal bill of human rights, so that we may destroy forever all sorts of racial and religious discrimination throughout the world."

3. Successful functioning of the economic and social commission "with real labor participation" to "establish the right of all workers in all countries to join unions of their own choosing" and its effective aid in improving living standards, raising wages and shortening hours in all countries.

Vassili Kuznetsov, speaking for the Soviet trade unions at the same meeting, said: "We must eliminate not only the dangers of war but also the dangers of unemployment by working for rising living standards and wages and for real social security. Labor must be given recognition within each nation and on all commissions having to do with the peace."

In turn, Lombardo Toledano called for the "political and economic wiping out of fascism from every part of the earth,"—and

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this includes Argentina—whose admission to UNCIO he called "a defeat for all the democratic forces, especially in Latin America."

The same emphasis on economic freedom was made by H. T. Liu for the Chinese Association of Labor, who declared: "We must industrialize China. Trade to meet its needs will mean more production, more jobs in America . . . Freedom is indivisible, it is not only political but economic."

Endorse Dumbarton Oaks

FROM the trade union conference as a whole came the request to UNCIO for "effective trade union representation" both in the security council to be set up under the Dumbarton Oaks plan and in the Economic and Social Commission.

"We ask for such representation," the labor delegates said, "not only as an act of simple justice to the heroic working people of the United Nations, but because we are firmly convinced that the granting of our request would be of material assistance in assuring the realization of the great goal shared by all men of good-will, a just and enduring peace for the peoples of the world."

They also said that world labor fully endorsed Dumbarton Oaks and wanted only "to give our full and devoted support to the realization of that great objective." It was signed by Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, M. Tarasov, Sir Walter Citrine and Louis Saillant.

What happened to the request of 60,000,000 workers for a place in planning world security? It was turned down. Only one member of the UNCIO steering committee spoke up for it, and that one was Kuznetsov. The rest, led by the U. S. members and the British, opposed it so bitterly that Molotov, describing the affair to a press conference afterwards, diplomatically understated things in explaining that the Soviet did not press for a vote "inasmuch as it was said to be difficult to comply with this request."

Later, the issue came up again in the Economic and Social Commission, and this time was favorably voted upon. The World Trade Union Conference, along with the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agricultural Interim Commission and UNRRA was invited to send observers to the Commission's meetings.

The next day the steering committee reversed the Economic Commission. The vote was reported at 33 to 10, with the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, France, China, India, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand and Mexico purportedly favorable to labor.

Several theories have been advanced as to why the World Trade Union Conference was refused a place at the planning table. The principal—and easiest one—is that the American delegation feared angering the AFL.

Another theory advanced was that the refusal was due to the fact that opposing governments hesitated to let in one non-official organization because immediately all other groups such as farmers, businessmen, perhaps even religious and peace groups, would ask similar representation.

According to the newspaper reports of May 18, CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey has presented a set of proposals to the Economic and Social Commission calling for regular consultation with all labor (including AFL), with farm groups, business (represented by the NAM) and other non-government agencies.

The newspapers wrote that Stettinius "expressed pleasure" at the united way in which the proposal was presented. It may be that this will offer a solution to the problem. It remains a fact, however, that the American and British members twice turned down the request of world labor for direct representation at UNCIO.

The elected delegates of 60,000,000 workers of the United Nations will not be distracted from their job of building world labor unity and of helping to build world security and well-being.

Their contribution to world security, which they and all people know is vitally needed, will be made. It will be made because the needs of the peace demand the full participation and the full devotion of the working men and women of the entire free world.

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The Fight For

"We The People"

BY

JOHN R. ELLINGSTON

Member, Drafting Committee
Statement of Essential Human Rights

The fight for human rights in the Charter of the World Organization and for those things which will serve the welfare and dignity of human beings everywhere is being eagerly watched by the peoples of all the United Nations.

THE issue at the core of all issues in the writing of the Charter here in San Francisco is whether sovereignty rests in the nations or in the people. The immediate question may be the settling of disputes, in which regional groups oppose control by the Security Council; or it may be trusteeships, with nationalists insisting on exclusive overlordship free of supervision by the Assembly; or it may be the jurisdiction of the World Court, with the great powers reluctant to give up their freedom to refuse to submit a dispute to adjudication. Whatever the surface of the conflict, at its core it turns out to be the High Contracting Parties versus "We the People."

No sensible person expects a sweeping victory for "We the People" here in San Francisco, as no one expects a perfect Charter. The document is sure to be full of compromises, of concessions to national sovereignties, and to have in it some provisions capable of growing into cancers that would kill it. That is to be expected; it is the inevitable reflection of the inconsistencies and compromises of our human nature. But that very certainty renders it imperative that the Charter shall have enough healthy growing tissue to curb and control its own tumors.

That explains the fight for human rights in the Charter and for economic, social and cultural commissions that will help organize society to serve the welfare and the dignity of every individual human being everywhere. It explains also our fight to get a single phrase in the Preamble: "We the people of the United Nations." These are the only fitting words with which to begin the Preamble to this covenant of peace and cooperation. In spite of all the provisions in the text that will contradict it, the phrase places sovereignty squarely where it belongs. It proclaims the unity and the cooperation of mankind.

The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States is, of course, the precedent for such a beginning. It is instructive to compare the wording of the Preambles to the Covenant of the League of Nations and to the United States Constitution.

Preamble to the Covenant of the League of Nations:

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of the obligation not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understanding of international law as the

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actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Preamble to the Constitution of the United States:

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

I suspect that the key to the success of the Constitution and the failure of the League can be found in the divergent moods and values reflected in these two Preambles. One is no more than a treaty of convenience "among governments." The other is the expression of a practical ideal held by men. The key words are "The high contracting parties" and "We the people of the United States."

Sovereignty of the People

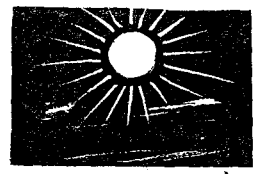
SOME legalists tell us that the Preamble has no standing in law and is, therefore, unimportant. They are strangely ignorant both of history and of human nature. As Professor Corwin has pointed out, the famous Webster-Hayne debates in Congress, which hammered out the issue of State sovereignty versus Federal sovereignty, hinged largely upon the opening phrase of the Preamble to the Constitution. Webster argued that "We the people of the United States" proved that the sovereignty of all of the people as represented by the Federal Government was superior to the sovereignty of the separate States. Senator Hayne acknowledged the decisive importance of the phrase but attempted to interpret it differently. He put the emphasis on the word "States" as if the phrase meant, "We the people of the States which are united." It was left to the Civil War to decide the issue for all time but the debates demonstrated the crucial importance of a phrase in a basic covenant.

In talks with Professor Vicente G. Sinco of the Philippine Delegation to this Conference, I learned of the dynamic part that a single word has played in the history of Philippine independence. The Jones Law adopted by the Congress in 1916 served as a Charter of the Philippine Commonwealth. The body of the document contained no reference whatever to independence but the word was included in the Preamble and the advocates of Philippine autonomy fixed their eyes on this word as a beacon and a promise, using it as their major argument to win from Congress the independence which was eventually granted.

Similarly the advocates of a Jewish State in Palestine have seized upon the phrase "Jewish homeland," which appears in the Balfour Declaration, to justify their claim to nationhood.

In all probability the Charter of the United Nations with its Preamble will be adopted by the time this is printed. The effort to substitute "We the people of the United Nations" for "The high contracting parties," with which the Preamble submitted to the Conference by Field Marshal Smuts begins, may not have succeeded. That will not, of course, mean that the United Nations organization is to fail but it seems a safe bet that if the organization does survive and grow into a true world federation of States, the reality of the sovereignty of "We the people" must become the cornerstone of the organization.

If, on the other hand, the vision of the delegates proves to have been sufficient to start the document with this recognition of the people's sovereignty, men of good will may count it as a gain of such importance as to offset many of the compromises inevitable in this first step toward effective world organization.



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Bretton Woods — *A Key To Peace*

By

CHASE G. WOODHOUSE

Mrs. Woodhouse is a member of the U. S. House of Representatives Committee on Banking and Currency which recently reported out the bill to create an International Bank and Monetary Fund. Here she explains the reasons for their favorable report and declares her own conviction that the alternative is "chaos and economic warfare leading inevitably to World War III and destruction."

THE people want peace—the security of peace which will give them freedom to live and develop a finer civilization. Science has made peace necessary. It has made the world one great neighborhood. It has made war global. Peace, to be lasting, must likewise be global. We are gradually learning that our economic problems in many instances are world-wide economic problems and that they can be solved only by cooperation.

The war is being won not only by military and political cooperation but also by economic cooperation; by the great productive powers of the United States being distributed where needed for the prosecution of the war by means primarily of Lend-Lease.

And likewise, any charter for world organization coming out of San Francisco will function only if propelled by suitable international economic machinery. Unemployment, economic depression, diminishing foreign trade are forerunners of economic warfare as fatal to world peace as is an act of political aggression. At San Francisco eyes have been focused primarily on the Security Council—and quite justifiably so, as we are just emerging from a war. The Security Council is geared to deal with aggression or potential aggression. But the little discussed Social and Economic Council has potentialities for *preventing* aggression.

Economic nationalism was a decisive factor in the outbreak of the war in 1939. Competitive devaluation of currencies, trade barriers, exchange controls, multiple currencies, quotas, all were weapons of economic warfare which eventually meant shooting warfare. The 1920's and the 1930's should have taught us that we have a choice only between economic warfare and economic international cooperation.

President Roosevelt in his message of February 12 to Congress recommended the immediate adoption of the Bretton Woods proposals, "the cornerstone for international economic cooperation."

On May 24 the House Committee on Banking and Currency reported out a bill providing for acceptance by the United States of membership in both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund by a 23 to 3 vote. Hearings which extended over many weeks were designated as "excellent" by W. Randolph Burgess, President of the American Bankers Association, who opposed certain functions of the Fund. He said: "Every witness has been given a fair hearing. It has been to me an encouraging demonstration of the workings of our American system of Democracy."

This same careful consideration has characterized the entire history of the Bretton Woods proposals. The meeting at Bretton Woods in July 1944 was preceded by nearly

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three years of discussion by government officials, monetary experts, legal authorities, and technical experts, bankers, business men, and labor leaders of the United States and some 30 other nations.

At Bretton Woods, representatives of 44 nations spent three and a half weeks considering in detail the proposals which came from 20 preliminary drafts. The agreements for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and an International Monetary Fund represent the considered judgment of many men working over many months.

It is the purpose of the Bank to encourage the lending of capital to be used for productive purposes—the loans to be made by countries in a position to export capital, to countries which need such capital for reconstruction or for development. The Bank would further the reconstruction of devastated areas of member countries, the reconversion of productive facilities to peacetime needs, and the development of the resources of less developed member countries. Only when private capital could not be obtained at reasonable rates for loans which the Bank determined were sound would the Bank itself make loans. Ordinarily it would guarantee approved loans made by private investors. The risk would be shared by all nations, members of the Bank.

Most of the loans made by the Bank in the first years would be dollar loans and would make dollars available to foreign countries for the purchase of American goods and thus further a balanced international trade—one of the major objectives of the Bretton Woods proposals.

Function of Monetary Fund

THE primary purpose of the International Monetary Fund is to provide world conditions under which balanced international foreign trade would expand—to enable countries to trade with each other, to maintain their currencies at relatively stable value, to do away with competitive currency depreciation, and to end multiple currencies and restrictive exchange controls.

The Fund would not make loans. Its function is to assist the various countries of the world in settling balances due on current accounts. When imports run ahead of exports and a country needs a foreign currency to settle its balance it could purchase the needed currency from the Fund by depositing its own currency. It must later buy back its own currency by depositing the foreign currency purchased, or gold. In brief, the business of the Fund would be much like that of the foreign exchange department of a large bank—the sale of foreign currencies to member countries in limited amounts and under adequate safeguards, to meet temporary shortages of exchange needed in conducting regular business transactions.

However, the Fund has the additional, very vital function of stabilizing the currencies and preventing economic warfare through obligations accepted by the cooperating governments.

A country which becomes a member of the Fund must undertake to define its money in terms of gold, i.e., to set a par value; to maintain its currency within one per cent of its defined value; not to engage in discriminatory currency arrangements or multiple currency practices except as authorized according to the Agreement or approved by the directors of the Fund; to consult with the Fund when it feels a change in the value of its currency is necessary and to make no change exceeding 10 per cent without the approval of the Fund; and to furnish to the Fund periodically data on its gold production, its holdings of gold and foreign exchange and its position as to international balance of payments and important exports.

The sum to be subscribed to the Fund is $8,800 million—the largest quota going to the United States $2,275 million, the United Kingdom $1,300 million, the U.S.S.R. $1,200 million. Subscriptions would be paid in gold and the currency of the member country. Each country would put in 25 per cent of its quota in gold or 10 per cent of its gold holdings whichever is smaller.

Quotas could not be changed except by a four-fifths vote of all the members. Since the United States has more than one-fifth of the vote no quotas could be changed without our approval. The bill now before Congress provides that no change in the United States quota may be made without the approval of Congress.

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Voting power of a member country would be roughly in proportion to the quotas. The United States would have some 28 per cent of the votes but since the voting strength of a country whose currency is being purchased by other nations increases as the amounts being bought go up, our voting power might run to 35 per cent. Conversely, when a country is buying foreign currencies its vote decreases.

A Board of Governors appointed one by each member country and an Executive Committee would manage the Fund. Five executive directors would be appointed by the five largest quota countries and seven elected by the other member governments. As in the case of the Bank it is planned to establish headquarters in the United States and branches elsewhere as needed.

The bill now before Congress directs that one person should serve as both Governor of the Bank and Governor of the Fund representing the United States. He would be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

The subscriptions to the Fund would constitute a revolving fund. Should the currency of any government depreciate in value, that government would have to make up the difference to the Fund by putting in more currency. This would maintain the Fund at its original level.

The Fund would also receive an income from the charges made to purchasers of exchange. A government buying currency of another nation from the Fund pays three-fourths of 1 per cent at the time of purchase, an additional 1 per cent if it has not repaid the Fund by the second year, and an increasing charge each year up to 4 per cent in the eighth year. The pressure exerted by the increasing charges would serve to restrain excessive purchasing of exchange and to encourage governments to repurchase their own currency.

The suggestions of certain groups of bankers that the Fund should be merely a department of the Bank would seem to assume that the purpose of the Fund is to provide additional exchange resources. That was not the intention of the framers. The primary purpose of the Fund is to establish and maintain stability and order and to prevent artificial restraints and controls in exchange transactions. It deals with current transactions while the Bank cares for long time programs.

Alternatives to the Fund?

THE Fund offers a means through which the foreign business of American firms can be carried on in an orderly manner and on an expanding scale. There are only two alternatives to the Fund: chaos and economic warfare leading inevitably to World War III and destruction; or government managed foreign trade centered in Russia, and in a group of countries led by Great Britain, with the United States in isolation waging a solitary and unquestionably losing fight for free enterprise.

A return to the gold standard, desirable or not, is not an alternative. The people of England remember too well the cuts made necessary in their social services by the strenuous efforts of their government to maintain the pound on the gold basis. The Fund includes some of the features of the gold standard without its rigidity. It is based on gold or U. S. dollars. It requires each country to define its currency in terms of gold. In short, it offers something nearer to the gold standard than could possibly be attained if the Fund were not established. Critics in this country may say the international affairs of other countries should be stabilized before the Fund is established. But confidence in the stability of their currency is a prerequisite to internal stability.

There is no going back. This is One World. We are interdependent. We are brothers one unto the other in economic affairs. International cooperation is the only method for the solution of our problems. The Fund is well protected by safeguards against its misuse.

The conditional right of a member country to have access to the Fund can be terminated whenever that right is not being used for the purposes of the Agreement. If the United States, with its great economic power accepts the Bank and the Fund, other countries will follow. The Bank and the Fund are the connections of international economic cooperation, and international economic cooperation is an essential foundation for world peace.

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Franco:

—Why Should We Fear Ghosts?

BY

VINCENT SHEEAN

TO those who have fought and suffered for years to achieve our present degree of victory over fascism it seems monstrous and almost unbelievable that the Western democracies, vowed to muddle and confusion to the end, are still supporting General Franco's dictatorship in Spain. The Spanish fascist state, modeled on those of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, differs from them in only one important respect, which is that it did not openly make war upon us.

Instead, it used its non-belligerency to obtain materials from us to pass on to our enemies; it harbored our enemy's espionage system and extended it to the Americas, including Washington; when we entered Africa in the opening phase of our campaigns across the Atlantic, this state mobilized its army and stood ready to attack us whenever Hitler should give the word. Correspondence between Hitler and Mussolini, which has come to light in the ruins of the parent or patron fascist states, shows that Hitler was ready to give the word but was persuaded by Mussolini that Spain would be more useful posing as a "neutral." (*New York Times,* May 26, 1945.)

And it is to be noted that the Spanish fascist state never regarded itself as "neutral" until the victory of the Allies in this war became overwhelmingly certain. Up to then it was, by its own proclamation and repeated declarations, merely "non-belligerent," with not the slightest pretense at neutrality. Indeed, to those who read the Spanish official press and listened to the Spanish official radio during 1940-1943, it seemed that the fascist offspring was far more venomous even than the parent stock. The Madrid radio vomited forth lies about us, invented victories for our enemies, lavished the most eloquent praise upon the individual nazi leaders and at all times spoke in the tone of a full Axis partner and participant in the war.

For years the output of our information services, British and American, was forbidden to be shown publicly in Spain, while the product of Dr. Goebbels' Propaganda-ministerium filled the eyes and mind of the Spanish people. The "exploits" of the Legion Azul in Russia, the Spanish infantry division sent as token participation in Hitler's attempt to conquer that country, were reported in the Madrid press as if they had been the crusades of the Cid Campeador. Nazi visitors to Spain were received with military honors and public parades, while the British and American ambassadors were received coldly and as if on sufferance, without much chance of doing more than formally protest against the course of Franco's policy. And, what would

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have seemed an overt act in the days when Britannia ruled the waves, the Spanish fascist government unceremoniously seized Tangier in the autumn of 1940, putting an end to the international régime agreed upon in the treaty of 1906, and treating British and Americans with contempt.

Such a series of insults has never been inflicted by a weak power upon two great nations. Why do the British and the Americans not only accept these insults, but actually continue to recognize, support and supply the fascist dictatorship which hurled them at us?

The answer must be found in the realm of high politics, that realm to which—alas!—generations of British upper-class gentlemen have been bred and, more or less, trained. High politics—*la haute politique*—is a very different thing from realistic politics, *Realpolitik*. In high politics, as we see it through the histories and biographies and memoirs of the nineteenth century, the interests of the nations were in the hands of suave, elegant diplomatists who tried very hard to keep their minds pure—that is, to ignore difficulties, gloss over them, and above all never to recognize the existence of profound popular forces and tides. In high politics phrases like "balance of power" come into existence easily, and flourish like the green bay tree, because they take the place of thinking.

A World Divided

THE present climate of high politics in London and Washington is strongly conditioned by that ominous phrase. It is quite obvious that to minds inhabiting these realms a sort of division of the world has taken place between the Russians and the Western democracies.

What does this mean? It means that some Alexander Borgia has drawn a line about the world. So far as Europe is concerned this line runs somewhere down the middle from Scandinavia to Trieste. On the western side of this line lie nations which, willy-nilly, must come into the orbit of Great Britain, with the American government somewhat uneasily in support. From Trieste the line cuts down through the Adriatic and across the Epirus to the Dardanelles.

In other words, instead of working toward an agreement with the Russians and a necessary synthesis, at least in some areas, between socialism and capitalism, the Western democracies are attempting to set up a system of power which will "balance" (i.e., oppose) the Russian system at every point. One would think such a scheme had no place outside the lunatic asylum, but it is being put into effect every day and its results fill the pages of our newspapers. And these very same people who create the situation then turn round and say blandly: "The Russians distrust us; they will not even allow us into their military areas."

It will, of course, break down, because it is anti-historical and without social or economic base. It will break down in France, Italy, Greece and other points along the line. No policy was ever more blatantly doomed to failure.

All this is said merely to shed a little light on the paradox of our support of fascist Spain. Spain lies geographically west of the new Borgia line. It is therefore in Great Britain's orbit, uneasily and most insecurely supported by the United States. Ultimately this support of the United States will be destroyed, along with everything else Great Britain controls, if this policy is blindly persisted in for very much longer. According to the childish view prevailing in the climate of "high politics," Spain must be kept immune from Russian influences—as if any part of the world, including England, was immune to such influences! To do this, a reactionary government with authoritarian methods is desirable. For the moment General Franco satisfies this desire.

It does, however, seem likely that internal pressures in England will render the present support of the Spanish dictator impractical after a while. It "looks bad." It shocks English liberals and angers British workmen. It even irritates a good many British Tories, among those who find it difficult to forget insults. If it is impractical to retain Franco, some shift or change might be found. There is a prince who would like to be king, and Mr. Churchill is very partial to kings wherever he can install them. With this king there could be an effective army dictatorship and some

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well-controlled simulacrum of democratic processes. But to throw open the polls for all the Spanish people to vote upon what they really want would be opening the door to socialism, anarchism, communism and all the other evils which the new Holy Alliance is devised to keep out. This, at any rate, is the theory.

Give the People a Chance

IN logic and common sense, forgetting all this nineteenth-century fol-de-rol about "balance of power," what we should do is withdraw our recognition of Franco and stop all supplies to Spain. The Spanish people would take care of the rest. And when the Spanish people had acquired a government of their own (supplanting that imposed by Hitler and Mussolini) we could resume normal relations with that government, whatever it might be, respecting its independence and sovereignty.

Such a course will not be taken; it does not lie in the nature of those who govern England and who lead, along with them, the present foreign policy of the United States. They will ignore, perhaps until it is too late, the primary necessity of the present world and of the coming years, which is to make a synthesis between the two unlike or opposing systems—to compound and agree with the immense fact of the Soviet Union, so that we shall have a world not divided but united in the main purposes of production and peace. They will also attempt at every turn to obfuscate liberal opinion in their own countries by saying that agreement with the Soviet Union is difficult or impossible.

So, in the result, since Spain lies within the area west of the Borgia line, we must not hope for too much from the Western democracies. What may occur, but is unlikely in an exhausted and suffering people, is an indigenous revolt which will itself sweep Franco and his fascism away and install some kind of government responsive to the structure of thought and hope in the Spanish people. If this could be—if this could only be—the Western world might indeed see an example of that which was only crudely sketched out in the final years of the Spanish Republic, that is, a genuine attempt at the synthesis of the two systems.

In the meantime we who saw the glory of Madrid and the pride of the Ebro know that the first act of our present drama was by *all odds the most quintessential*, historically the most significant. That nations should, by material wealth and prowess, militarily defeat other nations, is nothing new in history and can by itself—without the intervention of other elements—have no permanent result. But that a whole people should take arms, weak and inadequate arms, and with them oppose the strength of fascist-nazi power at its height or near its height—this was an episode which will forever command the admiration of mankind.

We cannot forget the million-and-a-half Spaniards who died or were wounded in order to preserve us from the general war. Our own blindness and confusion, or that of our governmental leaders, kept us from taking advantage of that opportunity given us by the blood and suffering of Spain. We have since been compelled to give our own blood to pay for these errors. If the errors persist, the blood we have already given will be as nothing to that which will cover the earth. And in the end we shall have to come to the same thing anyhow—which is a synthesis of our conflicting modes of thought and action. Spain could be, by its nature and history, its recent history above all, a proving ground for such a synthesis if its people were allowed to exert their rights as citizens. And yet we, who have everything to gain by it, are precisely the powers which forbid it.

Terrible penalties have been exacted by the forces of history for this kind of error, and there is no doubt that the past supplies some very useful clues to the future in this respect. One thinks back to Munich—no further back than Munich—and the elements of policy do not seem to have altered much. We are treating Franco, in his great weakness, with the same delicacy we used toward Hitler in his strength, and giving him—as in that other case—what does not belong to us, in the hope that he will exclude the ghosts and specters which we fear. Why should we fear ghosts? Why can we not see the world as it is, accept it as it is, and deal with it as it is?

Echo answers.

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Progress of the Struggle

by NORMAN ANGELL

AFTER SAN FRANCISCO

THE proclamation of the official end of the war in Europe came almost as an anticlimax to the stupendous events which immediately preceded it—a round dozen of events, any one of which, each presenting its own particular problem, would in ordinary times furnish sufficient material for discussion by the public for a decade. To have to swallow this amount of history all at once is likely to produce severe intellectual indigestion, emotional sickness.

The events emphasize two things: the incredible rapidity with which the whole world situation may change; and the fact that what comes out of San Francisco will be the real test of whether or not the war has been fought in vain.

In three years the social and political composition of the world has been transformed. It is not a matter of maps, but of vital alteration in the balance of forces which will determine the kind of life that is to be led for generations and the kind of men that are to lead it. Three or four years ago it looked as though civilization were to pass into a new, and what seems to us of the West, a terrifying social form, the form of actual slavery, in which men would have little to say as to their own fate; their whole lives subject to powers they would be unable to influence.

Such slave societies have sometimes proved extremely stable and endured a long time. The society which produced the pyramids and reached a sophistication of which the Egyptian tombs give evidence, lasted in one form or another not only the one thousand years of Hitler's promised Reich, but three to four thousand years. The freer forms of society have been very ephemeral in comparison; they were in mortal peril three years ago. The Europe from which the civilization of the world for the last three or four hundred years has mainly radiated proved too divided, too weakened by the elements of disintegration within it to defend itself against a criminal minority, something in the nature of a mere criminal gang. Even France had shown grave divisive and disintegrating tendencies.

If Britain also had lacked sufficient unity to form a government which could rally the nation as a whole, and had fallen, the Hitlerite power would almost certainly have conquered not merely the whole of Europe, but North Africa and the Mediterranean. There would have been a linking up of the nazi forces with Japan, the conquest of India to at least the degree China has been conquered, and a very probable defeat of Russia. The world situation today would have been very different.

Power has passed from totalitarian Germany and is passing from totalitarian Japan. But we do not yet know whether those who now hold preponderant power can remain united sufficiently to build a society upon freedom as opposed to totalitarianism and dictatorship. Part of the power which destroyed Hitler is itself wielded by dictatorship—for it serves no purpose of truth or of peace to pretend that either Russia or China is democratic in the sense in which Jefferson and Lincoln and Mill and Gladstone used that word.

Ensuring that those to whom power has been transferred shall use it for the purposes of freedom and democracy is now the main problem which we face. We run the risk of sacrificing freedom in order to maintain unity or of sacrificing unity in order to retain, or to appear to retain, such freedom as we have. Yet freedom so retained could never be secure. For years we shall be confronted by an unreal antithesis—

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freedom and independence on the one side and dominant power denying those things on the other. Our task will be to find the synthesis: what minor freedoms and independencies shall be sacrificed to preserve the major freedoms. Which is which?

MUCH of this we do not clearly see at present. The events which we have had to record within a single month have been so stupendous, so quickly following one on the other, that we risk getting lost in a jungle of new problems, or of being carried along on a tide so swift that we lose the sense of direction.

Ever since the establishment of FREE WORLD, some four years ago, this column has emphasized a few major themes. The risk of repetition has been taken because the only hope of not getting lost in this maze, or of being carried helplessly on the current, is to hold fast to a few central governing truths which may enable us to retain control of events instead of being controlled by them. Thus, in the case of the San Francisco Conference, this column has consistently urged that the first thing—which does not mean the only thing, or even the most important thing—is security: security against war and aggression, security for the right of each nation to live under the particular social, political or economic system it prefers. Peace at this stage of the world's development is more important than complete and absolute justice, for if we don't get peace there will be extremely little justice.

To insist that, before the policeman is brought on to the scene, the law he enforces must be chemically pure, means, not that we shall get completely just law but that we shall get no policeman. If we get our police we can alter the law in the direction of justice; if we get no policeman there will be simply violence and terror. In other words, security is one of the tools which we must use as the means for the constant alteration of law in the direction of justice; a justice never completely attained because men will never completely agree as to what it is.

THE debates in San Francisco have emphasized also another truth often expressed in these columns. No constitution, however carefully its clauses may be drawn and the commas placed, can ever of itself save mankind. A democratic constitution implies as its fundamental assumption that final decision in political, social and economic problems shall be by the people. But if political, economic and social decisions by the people are to be on the basis of the facts, the people must have access to the facts, be free to discuss them. If the people do not know the facts, obviously they cannot decide what to do about them. In the absence of such knowledge all talk about "the will of the people," "government by the people," is a perilous and evil sham. Obviously, therefore, this "access to the facts" is in the category of first things, for all democracy rests on it.

Yet access to the facts is of little avail unless men acquire the moral and intellectual disciplines by which alone the facts can be rightly judged, the right conclusions drawn. When, after the first victory over Germany, the public of the United States decided, contrary to the counsel of Wilson, that the road to peace was *isolationism*, that public had free access to the facts if they had been concerned to get them. But the mood and temper of the time obscured judgment.

IT is strange how little we draw the most needed lesson from the dreadful revelations of what the Germans have done. That lesson has a bearing on the work of San Francisco and the constitution which may come therefrom. Here were a people not in any way biologically different from ourselves, closely allied to the British and American peoples in race (if there be such a thing as race) and in much of their cultural background; the heirs to a great civilization, having made enormous contributions to science, philosophy, religion, art, music; highly educated, orderly, disciplined, efficient. Yet the outcome of it all was the acceptance of political philosophies which every sane man outside Germany knew to be arrant nonsense, the acceptance of the autocratic rule of an ignorant guttersnipe who could only be regarded as psychopathic, sadistic, criminal.

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If this episode proves, as it does, that a whole people can go utterly wrong, it must prove also that other peoples can go wrong to some similar degree; that the voice of the people is not always the Voice of God; that we too may become subject to dreadful error unless we keep alive our awareness of liability to error, our need to know, and to judge with responsibility and discipline what we know. It illustrates the futility of the perfect constitution as the instrument of human welfare if those who are to work the constitution have not the necessary human quality. The Weimar Constitution was one of the best ever devised by men. Its outcome, again, was Hitler. It was a constitution for the government of that highly "educated," "civilized" people whose governance and reform have now become one of the prime problems of the Allies.

Why did a people, heirs to a great Western civilization, learned, bookish, encyclopedic, thorough, efficient, and all the rest of it, living under the best constitution that the professors of political science knew how to devise, nevertheless go so disastrously wrong? We don't know, and that is one of the tragic elements of the postwar situation. Our main demand is now for sheer retaliation upon the German people. The leading article of a New York liberal paper urges that, as a beginning, we kill a hundred thousand Germans.

Another commentator insists that if we begin to make any distinctions between good Germans and bad we shall fail; that the whole German people are equally guilty—a statement which incidentally synchronized with one from Stalin in which he declared, as he has declared more than once, that Russia has no enmity to the German people and desires to see them prosper. As a group of Free Germans have been organized in Moscow under the aegis of the Russian government, a group that might become the nucleus of a German government of the future, Stalin's view obviously is that even if there are no good Germans there are some less evil than others.

THE trouble is that we forget experience. Immediately after our previous victory we had no soft mood. For a time we were just as anti-German as at present. We maintained the blockade despite starvation in cities like Vienna. The cause of our failure in dealing with Germany was not that we were insufficiently angry with Germany but that the Allies were too angry with each other. No policy that we might have devised, however "hard," could have been carried out, because the British began to quarrel with the French, the Americans with the British and all with the Russians. All sought scapegoats.

Today so many seem to believe that if only we hate fascism enough and insist on lynching all collaborators we shall give the world peace. In 1919 fascism had not yet been invented and there were no collaborators, but neither was there peace. The absence could hardly have resulted from our tenderness toward those nonexistent creeds. The enemies that destroyed us were not fascism or collaborationism, but nationalism and isolationism; our refusal to accept the obligations and duties of international organization.

That danger today takes only a slightly new form as in the difficulty of continued effective cooperation (particularly in the future government of Germany) between the western democracies and the Russian autocracy. The avoidance of World War III will depend, mainly, upon the ability of democracy and autocracy to work together for the common ends of security and peace. The condition of effective cooperation will be the frank recognition of these two facts: first that, as between the Russian power on the one side and the democracies on the other, there are deep differences of values and outlook; second, that on no account must those differences be allowed to lead to conflict. Future peace demands that we shall recognize the differences and manage to live and work together despite them. Cooperation will be dammed at the beginning if we proceed on the assumption that the Russians must forthwith adopt our views or we theirs; that we must surrender our political freedoms and adopt a dictatorship because under a dictatorship like the Russian, true democracy is achieved—as so many Soviet advocates so frequently insist.

At present, discussion of the problem presented by these differences seems to

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be between two main groups, one of which apparently assumes that Russia can do nothing right and the other that Russia can do nothing wrong. From such a discussion nothing but heat and mischief can emerge. Certainly, we in the West should have the wisdom to recognize the circumstances of the great Russian State, composite of many primitive peoples, the great mass of whom were yesterday in a condition of serfdom. We should understand that in those conditions government by discussion, by the give and take of a number of political parties, by open criticism and organized political opposition—things which in the West we understand as democracy—simply could not be applied to Russia so long as revolutionary conditions prevailed.

Whether that system can, without danger, be extended to populations brought by the might and valor of Russian arms under Russian governance, but which have a very different tradition and cultural background, is quite another question. If we are to judge how far the security of the West can accept Russian domination, not merely in the recently absorbed republics of Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, but also in what remains of Poland, in Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and even Austria, we must have access to the facts. Russia must give to observers, newspaper men, visitors from the west in Russian controlled territory the same facilities Russians are accorded in the west by the Allies.

Perhaps our first task in establishing really dependable relations with Russia will be to persuade her to remove her present blackout of knowledge in this respect. An additional reason for putting this first is that it runs counter to no real Russian interest. Russia's real interest indeed is all the other way. The restrictions she has imposed in the past have not prevented adverse criticism, deep differences of opinion about things Russian. It is quite unlikely that the criticisms or the differences would be any greater under free reporting; the probability is that they would become much less.

We must somehow manage to make it clear to her that this secrecy and prohibition of free reporting stands as an insuperable obstacle to understanding and confidence. For us in the west to pretend that this is not so is to do no service to Russia, to the Russian people, to future peace, to the success of the efforts of San Francisco, to the purposes for which we fought this war. Until we know day by day fully what the facts are, and have been permitted to judge those facts for ourselves, we simply don't know what we are talking about.

Without full access to the facts, it is tragically certain that we shall fail all along the line—fail to maintain unity, fail to control Germany, to make peace.

AT SAN FRANCISCO

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Pacific War —

Closing In For the Kill

BY

HERBERT COREY

Here is an appraisal of where we stand and where the Japs stand, and of our strategy and of how long it may take us to push them that "last mile" to unconditional surrender.

JAPAN is walking the last mile. No doubt about that. Circumstances have prevented us giving her the full strength up to this time but they have been cleared away. No nation on earth can stand up against our terrible concentration of power. Only—

Let us not buy the bunting just yet. That may be a long mile.

We have been inclined to be rather hoity-toity in our attitude toward Japan. We talk of her treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor. But we had known all the time that she would strike that way if she struck at all. Her men are yellow, bandy-legged, and have buck teeth. But they are excellent soldiers. They know all there is to be known about cave fighting and jungle warfare. They can live on a handful of rice a day, they travel light and fast, and they are well armed. Their rifles are not so good as ours but their bullets kill. Some of their artillery is more practical than ours. They are not as good in hand-to-hand fighting as our men but they are pretty good. They seem to have no reluctance about dying. Any general will tell you that a soldier who can shoot fairly straight, who keeps his gun clean, who is well disciplined and who will not run away is a good soldier.

The reputed death rate is eleven dead Japs to one dead American. But if the Japs can keep on feeding more live men in each year than she loses in dead men that last mile may be a long one. And the best advices are that she can do just that.

Our power is increasing. A Japanese spokesman said that Japan can afford to lose forty men to the American one, to win the war. Japan may lose the forty and not win.

We went into this war with an amateur army and a navy that was largely green-stick. Now that Germany is out of the way—unless, of course, we boyscout the Nazis into high morale again—we can without trouble assemble an army of 5,000,000 in the fight against Japan. It will be the perfect army, too. Enough wary, angry veterans to give weight and edge to it, enough fresh young blood to keep it fast and venturesome, enough men experienced in Jap-killing to furnish that specialized instruction, and new and better weapons to replace the weapons which have been shown to be just not quite good enough.

We were not up to the German par in hand guns. It is debatable whether the German rifle was not better than our rifle. German tanks were very tough nuts to crack. Some of the German guns had us out-ranged and carried a heavier wallop.

Our weapons have always been better than the Japs have in stock, bar their knee mortar. That is a highly murderous device, but we now have pulled up even with it. The Jap has one fine light machine gun. His rifle is good enough to snipe with and that is pretty good.

But our weapons have been bettered as a result of tests. And there will be more of them. The Jap will have more manpower than we can possibly assemble

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over a transportation route that ranges from 14,000 to 7,000 miles in length. But he will have longer lines to defend.

It is evident that these are the strategic moves and developments to bear in mind:

1. Our air forces will batter without pause at Japan's cities and defenses. We learned a lot about destruction by air in fighting Germany. Lines of communication were cut first, and production capacity was stamped out second. It is presumed in Washington that Doolittle will direct the bombing operations and Chennault will be the killer emeritus in directing the fighter squadrons. This is only a guess, for while both are at the very top of their heaps, there are many other brilliant officers who must be given their chance.

2. The airmen's job will be made easier by the fact that Japan is fast losing her oil supplies. Engineering authorities estimate that Japan's top oil production during the war has been about 35,000,000 barrels, including 10,000,000 of synthetic oil and gasoline from her eight plants on the home islands. But this was only about 8,000,000 more than her peacetime demands, and it is known that her wartime use was seriously underestimated. Japan also believed that our preoccupation with Germany would shorten her period of fighting.

Now the Burma fields with their possible 8,000,000 barrels a year have been lost to the British. The 10,000,000 annual potential at Tarakan is being taken over by the Australians. The British Borneo fields in Seria, with an annual production of 5,000,000, and Balik Papan on the Borneo east coast and the rich fields in Java and Sumatra all seem to be cut off. The theorists in Japan speak of producing aviation fuel by mixing gasoline with alcohol made from potatoes and pineroots, but little attention is given to such claims. Germany was able to produce a workable fuel in her synthetic plants, but the German technicians are excellent and a supply of subbituminous coal was at hand.

3. The Navy has established its complete authority in the Pacific. The day-by-day tale of its operations is—or should be—fresh in everyone's memory. To summarize the present situation, it is working in perfect harmony with the Army under MacArthur, with the bomber forces, and step by step the Americans have advanced until we are now on Japan's front doorstep. In these operations the backbone of the enemy's fleet and air force has been broken. The Japanese may still have seven or eight battleships in fighting condition. Some of these vessels are old and some others have been so damaged that they may not be anything to worry about for months. There are aircraft carriers, and destroyers and cruisers and submarines. No one knows how many in each category nor does any one know how many are damaged, or incomplete or hopelessly outmoded. A guess is six carriers. The other categories are negligible by comparison.

The statement has been published that we now have 23 battleships and two battle cruisers, more than ninety combat and escort carriers and a proportionate number of other types.

4. Japanese air losses have been extremely heavy and the rate of decline in production has been stepped up by the bombing of the Mitsubishi plant at Nagoya, which is said to have been the largest plane production plant in the world. No reliable figures can be had on present strength or replacements. Our own production is in the neighborhood of 6,000 planes a month and it is doubtful if the Japanese can touch 1,000. The quality of Japanese piloting is steadily worsening as the death rate grows in air warfare. It is assumed that the employment of suicide planes is traceable to this fact. A flier who would be a crippled duck in the air for our skilled youngster may still be able to fly a truckload of dynamite right into the side of a ship.

5. The fall of Rangoon opened new possibilities to the Allies in southeast Asia. Admiral Lord Mountbatten will no longer be tied down by a compulsory reliance on overland and air transport, for Rangoon is an excellent port. The monsoons will flood the lands until November, much to the disadvantage of the enemy, and Mountbatten may launch the amphibious operations in which he delights along the coasts of Malaya and Sumatra. In the meantime Britain can assemble in India and Burma enough of a force to threaten the land routes to Siam, Malaya, French Indo-

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China and perhaps China. It is understood that Mountbatten's one army—the 14th—will be strengthened. With the close of operations in Europe Mountbatten's air force will be added to greatly. The flyers have been 50 per cent American although the ground forces have been mostly British. Americans and British are working in greater harmony now that Lieut. Gen. Daniel I. Sultan has taken over command of the American brigade. No one criticizes his predecessor, Lieut. Gen. Stilwell. If Gallup were able to poll the War Department it would probably be revealed that Stilwell would have a 90 per cent vote of approval. But the fact is that his opinion of the Mountbatten staff and methods of operation was lower than a mud puddle and he did not attempt to conceal it. Sultan is a smooth worker and his diplomatic methods have paid.

A large proportion of Britain's naval strength is operating in the Pacific from Australian bases, under the over-all command of American Admiral Nimitz, and is being added to constantly. However, Mountbatten has the smaller East Indies fleet, including the French battleship Richelieu and some Netherlands units. If his amphibious operations take on important color this fleet may be added to from either the British or the American small-vessel pool. The recapture of the relatively undamaged Burmese oil fields will enable the British to relieve the frightening drain on our own domestic fields. It has been estimated that the carrier-borne aircraft from a powerful British naval force have cost Japan 75 per cent of her supply of aviation gasoline. This is not only of interest in itself, but it reveals that the British naval force is of far greater weight than ever previously realized by the public. The British complain that we do not comprehend the important part they have been playing in the war in the East, and that we still think of them in terms of Colonel Blimp. If this is true it may be charged to the British censorship, which has been alert to keep Americans from knowing what is going on in India and to that end has nailed the lid down on almost all the news from that area.

6. These observations have been merely preliminary to a consideration of the land fighting which will finish off Japan.

The Army will drive Japan over that last mile. It has been observed that it may be a long mile.

At this point the writer will guess unrestrainedly. He is certain that Nimitz will continue to rule the operations at sea. Anything else would be unthinkable, in view of his superb success as a strategist. Naval authorities think that his Pacific campaigning will be a "must" in the education of future seafighters of all the nations. He began with two strikes on him and the third strike was never called.

He has been able to get along with MacArthur. That might be stated in the reverse, in all fairness. MacArthur has been able to get along with Nimitz. It must be remembered that both are intense, under

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nervous strain, profoundly aware of their responsibilities, with views of Pacific strategy which must at times be at variance, and represent rival services which have a traditional lack of warmth for each other. It is possible that in the back of each man's mind is the fact that an amalgamation of all the services is under more or less serious consideration in certain quarters in Washington. If and when that amalgamation is made the relative importance of the sea, land, and air forces may be shaped to some extent by the issue of today's Pacific strategy.

A further guess is that when the land fighting gets under full headway MacArthur will be assigned the task of recovering the more than 7,000 islands in the Philippine archipelago. This is a task worthy of any man, and MacArthur's generalship has been equal to it. On the evidence at present available—which is not evidence at all—when the mainland of China is attacked the operations may be conducted by the generals who have commanded armies in Germany with success—Patton, Patch, Bradley, et al—and perhaps under the supervision of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Although the chief land force may ultimately number 5,000,000 men, or more, and will be almost wholly American, the British will want a hand in the conduct of the war for political reasons. This suggests a control by the Combined Chiefs.

It is further regarded as probable that when the time is ripe Russia will declare war on Japan.

Speculation on these lines is discouraged, again for international political reasons. It is permissible to observe, however, that Russia is extremely realistic politically. Japan has never hesitated to block Russia's game whenever safely possible. There is in Manchuria an army of 3,500,000 Japanese, and report has it that many of these are technicians in civilian lines of endeavor. If they were to remain unmolested then after peace comes Russia would find herself neighbored by a formidable opponent for peacetime business, already in position and ready to go.

It is also unlikely that the Anglo-American allies, having fought a war against Japan that will certainly be costly in every way, will be friendly to a suggestion that they move against a distant and well-defended Manchuria for the purpose of returning it to China—which once let it go almost without demur—and in face of Russia's determined opposition to that course.

Whereas if Russia drives the Japanese out of Manchuria the Allies to some extent are absolved of any responsibility. Any responsibility, at least, except the possible moral one of regaining for China a rich land which once slipped through her fingers.

7. The business of transporting the men and material for the attack on Japan in her islands and on the Chinese mainland is an enormous one, as everyone knows. What may not be fully realized is that to get the men and goods where they are needed the American system of continental railroads must in effect be turned end-for-end. To fight the war in Europe the masses of material have been flowing to the East. As they progressed they left a field served by a few trunk lines and entered a field serviced by many railroads, stocked with cities, and with an abundance of warehousing space. (A metaphorical abundance only. There was never enough.) Now, the great productive capacity of the East must be turned westward, to be handled by a comparatively few roads, and through what amounts to a bottleneck.

We may get what we want for the great attack in position in a year. To do that ports must be taken and defenses set up. Feeding, sanitation, transportation—an infinite number of old problems which have sustained a sea change—must be coped with. This calls for close relations with our Allies, for the recruiting of the French and Dutch and British, all of whom have political and commercial postwar interests, and which would seem to compel the interposition of the Combined Chiefs, as previously stated. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Gen. Eisenhower cannot be spared from his post in Europe, where he is responsible for maintaining good relations in Germany with our Allies.

The last mile may be very long.

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Winning A Real Peace For Asia

BY

JOHN GOETTE

Stripped of her camouflage Japan today is revealed as fighting for control of all Asiatic peoples. The war has already caused the nations which have dependencies or footholds in the Far East to revise some of their policies. Only the hope of freedom can cement Asia to the Allied cause.

GERMANY'S defeat strengthened the United Nations but it did not weaken Japan. Basically, Japan's warlords did not co-ordinate their strategy with that of Germany, nor did they pretend to share any of the gains in Asia with their European ally.

Tokyo now brazenly boasts that Germany and Japan did not even have common war aims. Hitler, they say, was fighting Communism, while Japan wages a holy war for the salvation of all Asia from brutal British and American machinations.

In this assertion, are the astute Japanese veering with the wind? I watched their march into North China in 1937 with anti-Communism as the slogan. When I attended the inauguration of the Japanese-puppet central government of China at Nanking in 1939, flying everywhere over the war-wracked Chinese capital was the regular national flag, but it was embellished through Japanese orders with a long, yellow pennant. On that pennant were the Chinese characters for "Peace—Reconstruction—Anti-Communism."

I always felt that the Japanese battle-cry of anti-Communism was a half-hearted make-shift, to say the least. I frequently pointed out to Japanese leaders in China and in Japan, the anomaly of their position. Their anti-Communist military campaign was directed against Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Yet Chiang was the one man who had spent years with his troops in open conflict against the Chinese Reds. Even today, he is adamant toward the native Red army. Still, he remains the focal point of Japanese hatred.

True enough, the Japanese were frightened cold over Communism at home. Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet, was the traditional enemy. We correspondents talked about *when*, and not *if*, the war came between Russia and Japan. However, in the intervening years, Tokyo indulged itself in words and anti-Comintern pacts rather than in war against the physical forces of Communism. And today, frightened Tokyo increases its paeons of friendliness to Moscow, while kicking the flattened body of Germany for its foolishness in fighting Soviet Russia.

This is all part of the tortuous maze through which we must find our way to win a reasonable peace in Asia. We are fighting an Oriental war. And do not forget that for one Oriental foe, we have many Oriental allies. We go forth to war in the Far East with our Occidental vigor, directness of purpose, strategy, and initiative. But already we have found in our military relations with China that, despite such forcefulness, our path of directness is bent and distorted by Oriental practices and by centuries-long national conditioning of native mentalities which leave us bewildered, irritated, and sometimes disillusioned. We blanch when the wishful-thinkers here proclaim that with Germany gone, Japan will

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sue for peace. Japan was by no means the junior partner of World War II. Actually Japan started it.

Nazis Reaped Headaches

HITLER was in political short pants when Tokyo's warlords conceived and executed the technique of aggression which swept Manchuria into its empire in 1931. And those wishful-thinkers overlook the fact that America was not at war with Germany when Japan jumped us at Pearl Harbor. Japan deliberately took on both America and Britain, and then it was for Germany to join against us or not, as she pleased.

Berlin's agents had worked hard to turn Japan against us, but Tokyo followed through on its own, carrying out a plan which made war with us almost inevitable from September 19, 1931. The Japanese were determined to get us out of their way of aggression. And they did not intend that Germany should stand in the way, nor reap the fruits of Japanese victory in Asia.

While it is but a legend, there is a basic lesson in the story of the Japanese consul general at Shanghai who gave a reception for the German consul general. At one point, the Japanese put his arms around his German colleague.

"We are friends and Axis partners. You Germans will be the last we will drive out of Asia," he said.

Thanks to our victory in Europe, we have brought this Japanese ambition to fruition. Germans in Occupied Asia are now suspect and locked away just as securely as are Americans and Britons.

Tokyo thought only of its own skin when it permitted Soviet vessels to pass through the North Pacific waters bearing war materials from America to be used on the eastern front against their fellow-member of the Axis. When the Japanese took the Netherlands East Indies, one of the richest prizes of the war was lost to Germany. With a German overlord sitting in the Hague, the East Indies should have belonged to Germany, but the Japanese were in physical possession, and even a common Axis victory would not have separated those fertile islands from the Japanese grasp. Today the war in Asia emerges in its true colors. Japan fights for Asia—an Asia centered on Tokyo as its directing and pulsating force. In it, there is room neither for Britain, America, France, the Netherlands, nor for Germany.

With our proximity to this surge of events, and with our natural instinct to alibi ourselves for our past iniquities in Asia, and for the more recent loss of military face, we unsoundly seek consolation by shrugging away Japanese accomplishments and slogans as insincere and hypocritical.

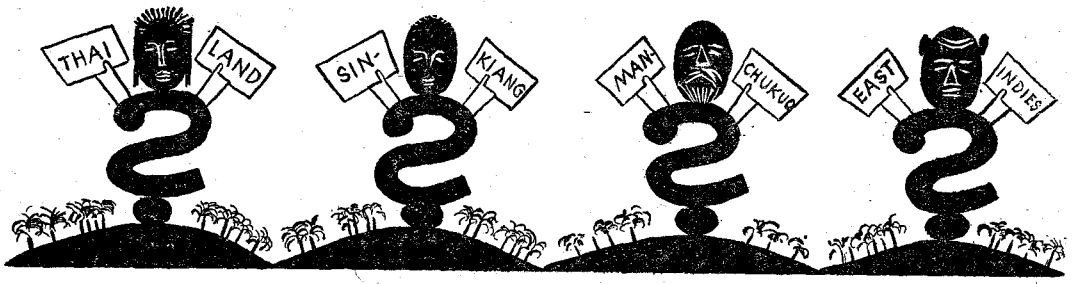
Subjectively, they are hypocritical. Objectively, we will discover, when we come to fixing the peace, that Tokyo's slogans and deeds have left a deeper impact, and riven a deeper cleavage between Occident and Orient, than history has ever known.

China's Political Strides

DISTASTEFUL as the Japanese instrument is to us or the Chinese, there is no denial that it was Japan's fight for Asia which suddenly catapulted China into the role of one of the Big Five.

Since Japanese bombs shattered our fleet at Pearl Harbor, we relinquished in rapid succession the hated extra-territoriality in China, abolished our insulting Chinese exclusion acts. We also sponsored Chinese representatives at the meetings of Quebec, Moscow, Cairo, Bretton Woods, the Rye International Business Conference, the UNRRA sessions, the Chicago Aviation Conference, Dumbarton Oaks, and finally, at San Francisco.

And this is not the complete score in Japan's fight for Asia. The Netherlands



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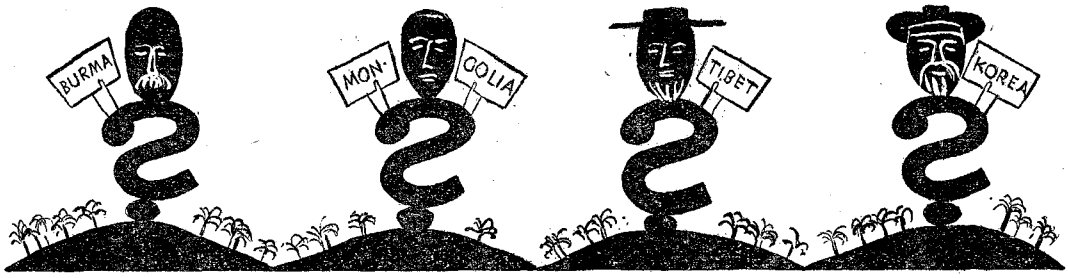

East Indies in December, 1942, was the first colony to gain a point from the mother country, following Japanese invasion. Queen Wilhelmina proclaimed that the East Indies would become part of the Netherlands Commonwealth, in which there would be "no room for discrimination according to race or nationality." The Queen added that the precise form of the new Commonwealth must await the moment when the population of the East Indies might state their views.

Then came the turn of French Indo-China in March, 1945. The Paris cabinet coined a new phrase, "the French Union." In that structure, it was promised that Indo-China would have a federal government under a governor-general whose ministers would be chosen from among the Indo-Chinese as well as Frenchmen resident in Indo-China. Native Indo-Chinese would become citizens of the French Union, and be qualified to hold all offices within the Union, having, as well, access to all ranks in a new Indo-Chinese army, navy and air force.

France was even more specific than the Netherlands' Queen, for it gave assurance that the basis for all future laws in Indo-China would be liberty of thought, of creed, of the press, of assembly, and "all other democratic liberties."

The Filipinos alone among the Asiatic dependencies fought side by side with the troops of the holding power. Japan's invasion gave them the chance to prove their worthiness, as well as the inspiration to ask for and receive the promise of the American President that the date for full independence would be advanced from July, 1946, if military conditions made it feasible. The Filipinos want it that way.

Japanese military occupation of Burma from 1942 until 1945, did little to arouse love between those two Asiatic races. Nor did it do much to demonstrate any widespread Burmese inclination to fight the invader on behalf of the British overlords. The Burmese did not want the Japanese, but expressed distaste for British rule.

Nonetheless, out of the Japanese impact upon Burma comes London's announcement that by December, 1948, or earlier, it is hoped to hold a general election and restore constitutional government in Burma according to the act of 1935. But advancing from that point, the British promise to prepare the ground for the attainment of "full self-government within the British Commonwealth under a constitution drawn up by the people of Burma themselves." It is added that the Burmese need not confine themselves to a British type of constitution.

Japan's fight for Asia proved a boomerang to Tokyo in regard to Korea. The Cairo Declaration of 1943 pledged the freeing of that country from the Japanese empire with eventual independence. Thereby Korea stands to benefit from the Japanese campaign of Asia for the Asiatics.

Hongkong Issue Unresolved

As the issue of postwar Asia now rests, there are several large and vital areas where Japanese aggression does not as yet give promise of having been a blessing in disguise. In relinquishing extra-territoriality and concessions in China, the British did not mention the Crown Colony of Hongkong. Chungking does not even dare raise the question of its restoration to China.

Likewise, London has been silent as to future political plans for the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlement, the Federated Malay States, and the Unfederated Malay States. But the Japanese for three and a half years have sown their seeds there. And a large and rich Chinese population in Malaya shows signs of having drawn ideas from the newly created position of China as one of the Big Five.

Thailand was an independent nation be-

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fore the Japanese overwhelmed it with promises and "military protection." In the past, the Thais have been haughty and even arrogant in their dealings with other governments, particularly with China. It cannot be imagined that they will be any less truculent in face of the flood of Asiatic consciousness and power which Japan has loosed on the Western world.

Manchuria is another great bloc which has suffered under Japanese aggression longer than any other part of Asia. However, since 1932 it has been a puppet empire. I know personally how its people loath and detest the Japanese, but they also recall that politically and economically they received only casual consideration from the National Government of China.

The Cairo Declaration promises the return of Manchuria to China, but that deal was made between China, America and Britain. The people of Manchuria, having tasted even a little of the flavor of being a separate nation, might be pardoned for asking more of China than was accorded prior to 1931.

Inner Mongolia follows behind Manchuria. No gathering of statesmen has even mentioned this area, and thus it is presumably going back to China on the old basis—what the Chinese do must be accepted by the Mongols. I wonder if this will succeed. I attended the inauguration of the Japanese-puppet autonomous Mongolian government at Kweihua late in 1938. Little has been heard in the West of this central government of Mengchiang, as it is called, but the Japanese forced the leading Mongol princes to participate. I talked with Prince Teh, its president, and I can believe that in the elapsing six and a half years, he and his Inner Mongols have gathered ideas of wider autonomy.

Mixed Allegiance Possible

THE island of Formosa, with its 5,000,000 mixed population, completes the roster of important blocs in Asia-proper with which we will have to deal as the result of the Japanese exodus from their home islands. Before 1895, when Japan incorporated it in the empire, Formosa had a quasi-independent status, sending tribute both to China and to Japan. The Cairo Conference awarded the island to China, but since then there has come talk of an American or allied defense base on Formosa. All of this, of course, has been without consultation with the home Formosans. Whether their wishes run to the contrary, no one will know until the Japanese are driven out.

Skimming over the 4,000,000 square miles of Japanese Asia, with its 500,000,000 Asiatic peoples, it is apparent that our peace problem is not merely the subjugation of 70,000,000 Japanese and their four main islands, no larger in themselves than the state of Montana.

When the last Japanese warship and plane is no more, and the last resisting Japanese lies dead beside his rifle, we will stand faced with the vast complexity of Japanese Asia. By that time the peoples of its eleven major racial divisions will have suffered war in varying periods from 1931 onward.

No one of them has escaped Western imperialism in some form or other during the past few decades. And Japan did mouth sugary slogans not unwelcome to them—Asia for the Asiatics—Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—Down with White Imperialism.

With Occidental cocksureness, we push aside the Japanese phenomenon as hypocrisy and selfishness. I deny neither of those qualifications, but I do know from long experience studying Japanese indoctrination and political methods on the spot in Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and China proper, that the Japanese have left a lasting imprint.

All these years the Japanese have been on the platform with their arguments against us and our allegedly materialistic ambitions. We have not been there to say them nay.

What the Japanese did prove to Asia was the now incontrovertible fact that a gun shoots with the same deadly effect, whether in white or yellow hands. What one Asiatic nation could do, others may some day try to do if provocation is not wisely removed.

Thus, we must not only conquer Japanese Asia from the invader, but we must re-conquer most of it from the respective natives. This does not necessarily mean by shot and shell, but at least by propaganda, and with a sincere projection of a future far different from the past, which Japan has relegated to the dry pages of history.

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The Germans Are A United People

The great Norwegian novelist, historian and winner of the Nobel prize for literature gives here a searching picture of the German soul, with its "moron" facets and its deep-rooted complex for world domination.

By Sigrid Undset

SOME twenty years ago I lectured on Norwegian Church History in a small town by the Oslo Fjord. At the supper after the lecture I was seated next to the Catholic priest of the town. He asked me: "Since you are an historian, Fru Undset, I am sure you could tell me something I would like to know. When exactly did he reign, this Peer Gynt of whom so-much has been written?"

The priest was a good German, if ever there was one. A kind, saintly old man, he amply deserved the affection his parishioners felt for him. I still remember him with fondness. I told him Peer Gynt was probably a legendary figure, even if he had been tentatively identified with one Peer Hage, a Gudbrandsdal farmer living in the seventeenth century, of whose prowess as a hunter and a lover, tall tales had been told.

"No, no, Fru Undset. I know he was a king of Norway, for I have read something about it"—and the priest mentioned the Gmünder Gemeindeblatt or whatever was the name of the paper published in his home diocese, to which he had subscribed during all of his thirty years in Norway.

"Well, then they were mistaken. There certainly never was a King Peer of Norway."

He said with an angelic smile:

"Oh, no, it couldn't be. It is a German newspaper."

"Der Führer hat gesagt." I don't know how many Norwegians, escaped from our occupied country, some of them with experiences of Gestapo torture, prisons and concentration camps, have voiced as their firm conviction that the average German is a moron. Soldiers, wardens, SS-men, every one of them, if you tried to set him right about something, would bleat their imbecile: "Der Führer hat gesagt." Small wonder that these young Norwegians felt bewildered: how can people who evidently are idiots also be efficient technicians, good soldiers, cunning looters and spies, past-masters in double dealing and deceit?

But this abject surrender of one's thinking faculties and blind, or willful trust in the pronouncements of a fuehrer is only the last, and maybe inevitable, stage of a peculiar German trend which has been growing apace as long as I have known any Germans—and I have known them since I was a child. Other people may have an exaggerated opinion of their own infallibility, but all Germans I have met believed in the infallibility of the Germans, and in their

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own because their opinions had been dished out to them from German sources. In all nations there are far too many people who uncritically believe everything they have read in their own newspaper or heard in school or in the pub or the club. But then they swear to their chosen authorities because they imagine that they themselves really formed these opinions agreeable to their wishful thinking about life and the world as they want to believe it is. The Germans believed, as the good old priest put it, "because it is a German newspaper."

Naturally there were wide differences of opinion in the old Reich of the Hohenzollerns, but a unifying force was vastly more potent than all secondary differences between classes and political parties and religious bodies—the belief that Germans are always right. Because of the superiority of the German people the German way of doing a thing—cook a fish or settle the labor question, train your servants or adore God—must be the best way. Social Democrats and industrialists agreed upon one thing: the German solution of the class struggle would serve as the model for the world. Catholics and Protestants, liberal as well as orthodox, agreed upon one thing: because the German people had a superior genius for religion only Germany could lead the desired return of the world back to Christianity. I have met German refugees at home as well as over here who still say so—godless nazism will disappear in God's own good time, and German Christians emerged from the catacombs will reconquer the world for Christ, or German Communists will take over after the Nazis and among other achievements lead heretical Russia back into the fold of true communism.

Even in the days of Hohenzollerns some Germans talked about the "German race." But most of them said the German people, and the "Teutonic race" was something wider and more indefinite—the something that made them claim Shakespeare and Michelangelo and Jesus Christ as geniuses of their race. Only, whilst the Teutons of England or America or Scandinavia had gone soft or materialistic or decadent by intermarriage with inferior people, the Germans were still the healthy and vigorous core of the Teutonic race, bound to redeem their lesser brethren as soon as the

rest of the world came to its senses and accepted their leadership.

Before the first World War, I think most of the Germans, or at least the common people, believed they would win this world leadership without going to war—because everybody must see that no nation was so prosperous, so healthy, so virtuous, as the German. Their educational system was superior. No other nation could point to such marvelous achievements in science or industry or government. And then they had their army. But only if the inferior nations refused to understand what was good for them it might become necessary for Germany to draw her bright sword and force them to see reason. It is my impression that at that time most of them piously believed that the mere existence of the German army would be enough to bring this about. But the German army was surrounded as with a nimbus by the myth of its invincibility.

What the shattering of this myth in 1918 meant to almost every single soul in Germany nobody who is not a German can understand. We who were exposed to an incessant barrage of German lamentations could scarcely pretend that we understood. We only knew for a fact that the mental distress and the intellectual chaos of this nation was appalling. I believe every European who had something of a name or a fame was hounded by German visitors who insisted upon seeing him and talking to

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him for hours. We were flooded by letters and printed matter issued by innumerable political parties and movements, weird new religions and philosophies, crazy schemes for the redemption of Germany and the world.

Save for the first years after the end of hostilities Germany was not worse off materially than many other lands and better off than some of the others. Immediately before the depression of 1929 hit the whole of our part of the world the Germans were vastly more prosperous than the French, for instance. The French did not sob with self-pity, but the Germans went on whimpering and clamoring for sympathy. With her armor of militarism crushed Germany seemed spiritually as helpless as a lobster deprived of its shell. In the Scandinavian countries, where the powerful Labor parties always had looked up to the German Sozialdemokratie with almost religious respect, the common man never doubted that the Germans would rally around their republic and become a democratic nation. The old regime of regimentation and rigid class distinction, bureaucracy and militarism seemed intolerable to us. Accordingly most people felt sure the Germans must be happy to have got rid of it, even if the Weimar Republic proved to be a sorry sort of soft-shell crab. The record of the Sozialdemokratie and the Liberals during World War I had failed to teach us a thing. We failed to discover that there was a limit to the much-advertised German docility and obedience to their government. The Weimar Republic tried to govern in a way they did not like, abstaining from intimidation and cajolery and flattery. It was sabotaged and disobeyed to a greater extent than any government has ever been.

The men who were clever enough to exploit the budding folklore about the undefeated German armies and the stab in the back of the home front, and who glued together the pieces of the shattered myth about the invincible German warrior, were bound to win the allegiance of the whole German people. Not that the whole people approved of the whole of the nazi setup. But with the exception of a tiny minority, all Germans could find something that appealed to them in the nazi promises and programs. I doubt if many of the Germans who wholeheartedly repudiated nazism were alive in Germany after a few years of Hitler's rule.

But don't imagine that because the German Underground resistance to nazism has been inconspicuous—or rather nonexistent—there will not be a powerful and cunning and very efficient underground resistance to the military and civilian administrative bodies in a Germany occupied by the victors, and to every kind of German government favorably regarded by the United Nations. Unless the destruction and defeat suffered on the "holy soil" of their own land have had a completely stunning effect on the Germans, they will soon rally to thwart and doublecross and defeat all attempts by inferior nations or German "Rassenverrähter" to rule a people which for generations has imagined that its destiny was to rule everything in the world except themselves.

Brilliant Conspirators

AROUND the core of fanatical Nazis, Germans of many political or religious allegiances will probably soon gather. And as we ought to know from our experience in the decades when this war was being planned and prepared, the Germans are exceedingly efficient plotters and conspirators, daring and astute organizers of fifth columns inside the bodies of their intended victim nations. It may be that these plotters consciously or unconsciously considered that if they were caught redhanded they did not risk worse than expulsion or negligible punishment—but a nazi-led Underground will know that its members will risk nothing worse at the hands of the victors than a death sentence minus the German trimmings of torture by rubber truncheons, bonecrushing, injections of boiling oil, or execution in gas chambers or by quicklime.

It may have been too much to expect of Germans, who usually are not very brave except when they are in uniform (the uniform being the lobster shell of each individual German), that they should be willing to brave the methods of their own Gestapo in the same way as the men and women of nations who are warlike without being militaristic. But unless this war on

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their own soil and a defeat that cannot be explained away changes them fundamentally, they must be expected to fight fiercely underground for their dream of being the Herrenvolk.

This dream seems to me to be the sole and single thing the Germans love with real and profound love. They have always been a people of rapidly changing enthusiasms, swinging from the sticky sentimentalism which is the evidence of emotional shallowness to paroxysms of insane fury. They have combined flatfoot common sense and smug enjoyment of frugal well-being and amassing of household possessions with a love of lavish display and spendthrift pageantry staged by princes and Fuehrers and parties and military bodies. They eagerly translated the literature of all other countries and races and continents, and these translations were voraciously read, very often in cheap but scholarly editions, by all classes of the nation except the farmers.

Nothing could be more erroneous than the idea one sometimes meets with among Americans, that what the Germans really need is information about democracy in textbooks and books and lectures. They knew all about it, and theoretically much more than the average American or Briton. And with a part of their mind, the surface of their minds, they were interested and sympathetic. My German publisher once told me, for instance, that the books of Upton Sinclair had had a larger sale in Germany than over here. And yet, when the Nazis started their bookburning spree, thousands of young German intellectuals felt an emotional relief, as they hurled into the flames books they had cherished a short time ago. "An emotional relief" were the words the young German scholar used who visited me several times in Lillehammer—a scholar of some merit in his own field, Nordic philology, and certainly one of the "good Germans." To try to understand and love these books which he and most of his comrades had felt in duty bound to admire, had really been a terrific strain, he explained. Subconsciously they had known it was a violation of their racial instincts. Of course he was not a Nazi, could never be, he told me. But nevertheless, the Nazis had brought immense benefits to the German people, and with his evident faults Adolf Hitler was an expression of so much of the most valuable and profound in the German national soul. I don't know what happened to this young German after April 1940, I was told he had inquired after me at my former home. As he spoke and read Norwegian very well no doubt he was a useful man to the occupying forces.

The Germans certainly are *one people,* have been one people since the beginning of their history and were one people also when they were distributed among innumerable small kingdoms and principalities and free cities. The idea of splitting Germany up into two or four or six separate states to me seems utterly futile. The old units were structures knit together by the loyalty of the subjects to each of the numerous kings and grand dukes and princes and whatnot. But the old sovereign houses are gone, and probably could not be restored to their thrones, even if anybody wanted to. Gone are probably the old loyalties.

I do not know whether even the Austrians of the next generation will be able to feel they are anything but a part of the German people. They were different from the Germans of the Reich, because their history had been different, as they had held domination in a multi-national Reich of many languages, many cultural strains and ethnic components. With the end of domination of Austrians over their non-German neighbors this difference may wear off in a generation or two. It is true, the Bavarians are different from the Prussians, the Saxons from the Rhinelanders, but these differences, now that the figureheads of all the small German states are gone, are no greater than the regional differences within many other nations.

It will be a difficult task to prevent the Germans from starting a third world war a generation or so from now, either by becoming strong enough to begin it themselves or by gaining the influence elsewhere to engineer a war between some of the nations who are today united. It will be difficult even if the victors abstain from an attempt to create three or four or six Germanies instead of one, and refrain likewise from expending immense physical and mental powers in an attempt to prevent their Germanies from coagulating before ten years have passed.

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AUSTRIA'S

Disputed Government

By

GEN. JULIUS DEUTSCH

The formation of an Austrian Government under the leadership of right-wing Social Democrat, Dr. Karl Renner, has been an object of controversy between Russia and the Anglo-American governments. FREE WORLD has asked General Deutsch, himself a prominent Social Democratic leader of Austria, to state his views on the program and personnel of the Renner government.

THE Renner Government describes itself as a provisional government, well aware that the final government structure only can be achieved through free democratic election. The swift and sure way in which the Austrian anti-fascist parties have built a provisional government as soon as the nazi system collapsed, testifies to the inherent strength and political maturity of the Austrian people.

The Austrian Government as constituted today is composed of six Social Democrats, three Communists, three Christian Socialists and several non-political members. This setup expresses pretty nearly the real strength of the various political groups in Austria. The only groups which are not represented in the Renner government are the Monarchists, because there is no really important Monarchist movement and of course no Nazis, collaborationists, fascists or semi-fascists of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg era are represented.

The Prime Minister, Karl Renner, is not an unknown political factor. He always belonged to the right wing of the Social Democratic party. After the first world war it was his task to lead the young Austrian Republic over the difficult postwar years.

During this time a coalition government was set up comprised of men of various and contradictory political views. I myself was a member of that government and had of course the opportunity to acquaint myself with the extreme ability of Karl Renner to settle controversies and to help overcome difficulties which naturally arose in a government composed of men with different political loyalties.

Such an impartial observer as Sumner Welles describes in the following terms the men governing Austria at that time: "The first political leaders of the Austrian Republic demonstrated both vision and ability in the manner in which they strove to improve political conditions within the country." (*The Time for Decision,* Harper Brothers, New York.)

The other Socialist members of the new government are also right wing Social Democrats and members of the well-known Republikanischer Schutzbund which was a militarized defense group of the Social Democrat party. It is interesting to notice that the Russian statesmen did not seek to avoid the cooperation of these elements. Of the three Communists who are members of the Renner government, only Ernst Fischer was known to wide circles. He was a former Social Democrat devoting most of his activities to literary rather than to political endeavors. His intense political activity started after February 1934 when he became a refugee in Russia and worked for the Moscow radio.

The Christian Socialists in the govern-

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ment represent what one might call the liberal wing of that conservative party. Thus the present Austrian government represents a coalition of right wing Socialists, Communists and liberal Christian Socialists. The most interesting political development around the new government lies in the fact that the Socialists and Communists have established a working agreement among themselves. Austria and Austrian labor will be able to develop and resume their march forward only if both parties continue to cooperate. Should that cooperation become impossible, then again labor will disappear in Austria as a sizable political factor.

The domestic program of the new government stands for political development and economic reconstruction. The foreign policy of the Renner government is characterized by the absolute rejection of the idea of "anschluss," that is, of any kind of union with Germany. This is a basic departure from the ideas which all political parties in Austria favored at the end of the last war.

Because of its geographical situation in the very heart of Europe, Austria became a meeting place for many and various interests. In the broadest field the question is whether the Danube will be a border line between two rival spheres of influence or whether Austria can be made a bridge between the East and the West.

As to which of those two possibilities will become a fact, naturally it is not Austria alone that can decide. The attitude of Russia on one side and that of England and America on the other will be of decisive importance. Nevertheless, a good deal will depend on the way the Austrians themselves are going to consider those questions, if they are moving consciously and determinedly toward international cooperation. If they succeed in doing so, their small country may obtain an importance which could reach far beyond the local framework of Central Europe.

Whatever the difficulties between the Allies on the manner in which the Renner government was formed may be, the fact remains that the government looks sound and that it represents pretty well the essential political democratic tendencies of Austria. Therefore, the sooner the Allies get together on whatever changes are necessary, and reach a full agreement on the restoration of Austria in the new world set-up, the better it will be for Europe and the world as a whole.

"Blue Network Round-Tables"

During the Conference, the American Broadcasting Company (Blue Network) in cooperation with the International Free World Association and Americans United for World Organization has had, every Sunday during the Conference, a forum on the issues before the San Francisco meeting. In these Round-Tables, in which Mr. Orson Welles was moderator, participated some of the most prominent men at San Francisco. Among them, Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia; Foreign Minister Sophianopoulos of Greece; Ambassador Henri Bonnet of France; Dr. Gavrilovic, Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia; Haakon Lie of Norway; Jean Jacques Mayoux of the French Underground; Ambassador Alfred Sze of China; Henry Cassidy, noted AP correspondent in Moscow; Paul Rankin of Reuter's News Agency; Louis Quintanilla of Mexico and others.

As announced over the Blue Network, FREE WORLD MAGAZINE *was going to publish this month the complete series of Round-Tables, but while we are going to press the Round-Tables still continue, and will go on until the end of the Conference. Therefore, the next issue will contain the presentation of these vital discussions. Subscribe now for yourself and your friends, beginning with the July issue of* FREE WORLD MAGAZINE, *144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.*

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How Is Yugoslavia Ruled?

By Stoyan Gavrilovic

A democratic government is in process of being born in the country whose patriots fought so valiantly against the Nazis. In this article the Yugoslav Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs describes the emergence of the new regime.

ORGANIZATION of the government and administration in Yugoslavia is still in the course of development. It is still imperfect and incomplete. This organization is not something that has been contrived by a few lawyers sitting around a green table, in a legalistic vacuum. It has grown in the wake of the hard struggle of the Yugoslav people for liberation in the present war out of the crude realities under which this superhuman struggle was waged for over four years.

The birth of this government and administration took place at a moment when the country was invaded and when the entire nation was engaged in an unceasing life-and-death battle for freedom and existence. Its life began with the formation of a small embryonic body which eventually became the Committee of National Liberation. In those dark days in the summer of 1941 this rudimentary Yugoslav war cabinet consisted of a handful of daring patriots, headed by Marshal Tito. It gradually grew into a widespread military and political organization covering the whole country and embracing all its peoples.

Branches of this committee soon appeared in all Yugoslav cities and villages. They were everywhere, and could be numbered in the thousands. The committees functioned underground, as a rule. In most instances their members were totally ignorant of the existence and the working of any but their own committee. Only a few principal leaders knew about this organization as a whole and were in contact with it.

When I left Belgrade early in April to attend the World Court Conference in Washington and the Security Conference in San Francisco this process had not yet reached its final phase. The responsible quarters in the country were still working out the concrete solutions of the many problems involved. The idea of a democratic and federative Yugoslavia was being translated into practical legal form. A special committee of the Ministerial Council was just formed with this end in view.

A similar body was organized in the central parliament and a separate ministry or department was set up to deal with all matters pertaining to this complex and vital task which, of course, requires a great deal of thinking and planning. The country was still at war, while in the liberated parts it was confronted with all sorts of calamities arising from the destruction and devastation which the enemy had left behind. Yet what has so far been achieved is more than sufficient to enable me to give an accurate picture of the organization of the government and administration of the democratic and federative Yugoslavia as the country is now officially called.

This government and its administration has central and local State organs. The delimitation of the executive and legislative power is not yet clearly defined. The central organs are referred to as "federal," the local as "federative." It has six federative or State units. They are: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. The capital of the country is Belgrade. Each State unit

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has its own chief city where the federative authorities are centered: Belgrade in Serbia, Zagreb in Croatia, Ljubljana in Slovenia, Cetinje in Montenegro, Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Skoplje in Macedonia. The powers of the King are vested in a Council of Regency consisting of three distinguished and carefully chosen political leaders. The transfer of Royal authority was effected by means of a Royal decree under King Peter's signature.

Large Federal Government

THE federal or central government, representing the chief executive authority in the country, is an unusually large body. It consists of twenty-eight ministries, each headed by a Cabinet minister having a seat in the Ministerial Council. Marshal Tito is the Prime Minister and Defense Minister. Twenty cabinet ministers hold the usual portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Interior, and other offices. Six are in charge of ministries dealing with affairs of the State units. This is an innovation. The idea of setting up special departments, such as those for Serbian Affairs, or Croatian Affairs, was to render a more harmonious relationship between the various local or federative governments, as well as to provide a better opportunity for their closer and more direct participation in the central or national administration.

The central government which was formed recently in Belgrade is the outcome of the National Committee of Liberation. It is referred to as the "united government" because it consists of the National Committee of Liberation which was the *de facto* provisional government inside the country during the war plus the now extinct Ministrial Council of the Royal Yugoslav Government in London whose Prime Minister is the Foreign Minister in the present government, Dr. Ivan Subasic.

The amalgamation of the two governments was carried through under the terms of the well known Tito-Subasic agreement which had the full approval of the three major Allied powers, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, as stipulated in the joint Yalta Declaration of President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin, and Prime Minister Churchill.

The full Ministerial Council of the central government meets only on special occasions. The everyday business of the government is transacted by the War Cabinet which consists of the Prime Minister and six other members of the Ministerial Council including the two Vice Premiers.

The local or federative governments have so far been organized in five State units: Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia. The formation of these State governments has passed through two stages. Originally, the local government was in the hands of the executive committee of the local assembly or parliament. In other words, the chairman of the local assembly with its vice-chairmen and secretaries formed a special body, called the executive committee, which in fact was the provisional local government. In the present stage of its development the logal government has become separated from the assembly and is composed of administrators who function outside the assembly. The local governments are responsible for certain public offices. They are concerned with education, agriculture, and hygiene, but are not concerned with foreign affairs, general finances of the country, or defense functions which fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the central government.

From the administrative point of view each State unit is subdivided into a number of districts, each district into a number of smaller units of counties, each county in its turn into townships and village communities. The subdivisions have been fully organized in some of the States. In Macedonia, for instance, a completely new delimitation of these administrative units has taken place.

The legislative authority is also federal or local. In both cases the legislative organs are still in their initial phases of development. The central parliament, known as AVNOJ, meaning Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, was organized in this rudimentary form two and a half years ago at a meeting of the people's delegates from all over the country in a small town in Bosnia called Jajce. This historic assembly, convoked in the midst of war, in those mountainous regions which were already liberated by Marshal Tito's forces, has functioned un-

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interruptedly through all the ensuing battles. It has lived to see the liberation of the whole country. It still functions in Belgrade under the presidency of the aged and well known Yugoslav democratic leader, Dr. Ivan Ribar. Originally it had some 300 members, but is now being enlarged to include a number of additional political leaders.

The object of this enlargement is to give to the provisional national parliament a still broader composition which the liberation of the entire country in the meantime has made possible. Besides the central legislative body there exist six local or federative assemblies. Each has a similar function, within its own jurisdiction. Each has its own name. In the Serbian State unit it is called ASNOS or Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Serbia; in Croatia ZAVNOH or Provincial Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia; in Slovenia SNOS or Slovenian National Liberation Council; in Montenegro CASNO or Montenegrin Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation; in Bosnia-Herzegovina ZAVNOBIH or Provincial Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; in Macedonia ASNOM or Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia.

Three Basic Principles

THE central and local parliaments, as well as the central and local governments, are formed on the representative basis. Their members come from the ranks of prewar political parties which have now been incorporated into the framework of what is known as the National Liberation Front. The incorporation implies the *a priori* recognition of the three basic political principles which are required for the participation in the government and administration of the country. They are: national unity, federal form of government, and democratic rule.

These principles are the great fundamental achievements of the people's struggle in the present war. The whole political life of Yugoslavia is based on them. They are considered indisputable and inviolable. A large number of important political parties are already incorporated into the National Liberation Front: The Communist Party, the Serbian Peoples Party, the Serbian Agrarian Party, the Serbian Forward Party, consisting of university professors and other intellectual workers, the Serbian Republican Party, the main body of the Serbian Socialist Party, a part of the Croatian Peasant Party, and practically all the Slovenian parties. The admission procedure is simple. The parties wanting to join the National Liberation Front have to pass a resolution to that effect at a properly convoked meeting and to make formal application.

There have been cases of refusal of admission. The so-called Yugoslav National Party was denied incorporation because it was formed by prewar dictatorships.

The large Serbian Democratic Party is represented in the central government through its President, the First Vice Premier, Milan Grol. The influential Serbian Independent Democratic Party is also represented through its Secretary General, the popular Minister of Information, Sava Kosanovic. The old Serbian Radical Party which in the years gone by was the most important political group in Serbia proper, has manifested its readiness to do likewise. Its acting president, former Prime Minister Milos Trifunovic, and other leaders who during the war were in London have already returned to the country.

The National Liberation Front is a very elaborate organization. In each of the six State units it has its executive committee and chairman. Throughout the country it has numerous local committees. The way in which these committees are organized is of the highest importance. They are the backbone of the people's participation in the ruling of the country. In the villages the committees consist of the whole population. They meet regularly once or twice a week. They are empowered to censure the actions of the local officials and to remove them in case of willful abuse of authority.

These village committees play an important role in the election of the various committees of the National Liberation Front and, generally speaking, exercise a powerful and vital influence in the government and administration of the whole state. Various departments and other institutions

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also have National Liberation Front committees. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for instance, has its own committee.

Army Needs Modernizing

THE general administration is run on very much the same lines as in any other democratic country. There are perhaps a few exceptions resulting from war conditions, but these are temporary and will obviously disappear in time. There are certain features, however, which it is important to bear in mind. The first concerns the army.

The Army of National Liberation was organized on a very primitive basis and was officered by men who in most cases had previously little or no military training and experience. It has performed deeds of great bravery and heroism, as all the world knows. Its achievements under the supreme command of Marshal Tito will remain as one of the most glorious chapters in the history of the second World War. But in the new circumstances in which the country now lives, it is confronted with the problem of reorganization and development along the lines of a modern standing army.

The economic life of the country, too, raises a series of new administrative problems. The full respect for private property and individual initiative in economic affairs is one of the guiding principles in the democratic and federative Yugoslavia, as it was formally proclaimed at the historic meeting of the central parliament at Jajce in November of 1943. But there are two vital matters which in this connection must always be remembered. One is that the general trend in regard to economic reorganization of the country favors the system of cooperatives.

In many fields in the past these cooperatives were an important economic factor in the life of the peasant masses in Yugoslavia, representing over 80 per cent of the entire population. The tendency now is to further expand this system wherever it may be needed.

The second point is that a vast amount of private enemy property in Yugoslavia has fallen into the possession of the government. Germany, Italy and other enemy states had acquired large properties and interests in Yugoslavia during the years of fascist ascendancy. These consisted of industrial, mining, banking, insurance, and other enterprises. In addition, German minority population in Yugoslavia owned large estates of rich, arable land in the northern parts of the country. Most of them fled with the German army as it was forced out of Yugoslavia.

The normal judicial authority of the country, when I left it, was not yet established. It still presented a problem which was under consideration. The heads of certain regular tribunals were appointed, but the main problem was not solved. The issue which was discussed was whether the judicial authority should be organized on the basis of the election of the judges by the people or on the basis of government nominations as in the case of the executive branch of the country's administration.

Courts for Collaborators

IN the meantime, during this interim period, military and other emergency courts have been exercising the function of judicial authority. There were also special "people's courts" whose jurisdiction covers cases of "offenses against national honor" resulting from collaboration with the enemy. This implies that many judicial functions, such as those concerning the transfer of property and civil contracts, are being held in abeyance pending the establishment of regular tribunals.

The organization of the government and administration of Yugoslavia as I have just outlined it has been constituted by legislative bodies which, however important they may have been from a practical and historial point of view, have nevertheless had a provisional legal character. The task of completing the structure and giving it strict legality will be entrusted to the Constituent Assembly which under the terms of the Tito-Subasic agreement will be convoked within three months after the end of the war. The Constituent Assembly will be formed by a general election in which, for the first time in their recent history, the peoples of Yugoslavia are to be given a real opportunity to express their individual wishes and to manifest their political convictions by a truly free and secret ballot.

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Nation-Wide

American Opinion Poll

The plain citizen is not usually looked upon by the financial bigwigs as someone who can comprehend the repercussions of international economic laws. And to some extent there is reason behind such a view. Great masses of people in the United States were bewildered regarding the causes of the Depression, many during the prewar years supported the economic royalists in their demands for higher and ever higher tariff walls—to keep out the competition of foreign-made merchandise.

But the outstanding lesson of the Depression and of the global war —the interdependence of all living peoples—has sunk deeply into the minds of citizens at every economic level and in every part of our country. The war has taught us that a threat to the life and security anywhere may shortly become a threat to ourselves, to ward off which our sons may have to lay down their lives. Thinking back to the lean depression years, and forward to Postwar, we begin to see also that full employment must likewise be worldwide, that starving people make poor customers, that only when all are able to work, and find markets for their products, can all prosper throughout the world.

Intelligent self-interest is behind the new desire of the average man today to see the factories of France and of Czechoslovakia running again, to see the populations of underprivileged lands enabled to industrialize, to earn more, to be able to spend more in world markets.

The economic value of give-and-take, of worldwide decency and fellowship, is widely accepted today. The results of this poll, made for FREE WORLD *by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, are presented on the pages following. The thoughtful reader will see in the figures real hope for establishment of world conditions that can perpetuate both prosperity and peace.*

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THE QUESTION

How do you think we'll have the best chance of having prosperity in this country after the war—by helping other countries in the world get back on their feet, or by not helping them?

The Answers:

	The General Public Says:	Readers Say:
1. We'll have the best chance of prosperity by helping other countries.....	78%	82%
2. We'll have the best chance of prosperity by *not* helping other countries.....	9%	
3. It makes no difference to our prosperity whether we help or not.....	3%	1%
4. We'll have the best chance by helping, if we get paid back for our help, in money or land or goods; not by giving free help..	1%	8%
5. Help the other countries, but don't know its effect on prosperity.....	2%	1%
6. *Don't* help the other countries, but don't know its effect on prosperity.....	2%	
7. Don't know, have no opinion.....	5%	
8. We'll have the best chance by helping, but help friendly nations only; not the Axis	(Less than half of 1%)	8%

See also next page for **FREE WORLD** *readers' comments on the Poll*

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Comments on the Poll

ANALYSIS of the poll results from many parts of the country and from persons of widely different backgrounds shows an almost uniformly high degree of conviction that America's best chance of achieving prosperity after this war lies in helping other countries to get back on their feet. Of those queried 79 per cent of the men and 78 per cent of the women took this view. Younger persons were slightly more inclined to give aid to other countries than were persons over forty. Education more than any other factor affected the replies, probably indicating that the best informed of those answering understood how important it is going to be for all peoples to work together for prosperity as well as for an era of peace. Of those answering who had attended college, 89 per cent declared that we must help other countries if we expect to achieve prosperity in our own country. This contrasts with 79 per cent of the persons at the high school level who held this view, and with 73 per cent of those who had grammar school education or less. Even so, it is significant that in all groups opinion was in favor of international cooperation by an important majority.

Differences between persons in cities, small towns and on farms were not pronounced. There was a fairly noticeable variance by political parties, the Democrats favoring aid to other countries by a percentage of 83, the Republicans by a percentage of 77.

FREE WORLD readers replying to the poll made many interesting comments. Here are a few of them:

"Help our allies as little as possible with direct handouts—give technical and financial assistance."

"Without mutual help and mutual understanding, there is no hope for the future."

"No individual wherever he may be or whatever his means of making a livelihood can have prosperity unless every individual is assured of an *adequate plus* economy."

"We should help economically and socially to the greatest extent but leave politics to the specific nations."

"Help other countries under condition that full public accounting be given, to prevent waste and graft, also to avoid upholding economic systems in which wealth is concentrated in few hands. As for enemy countries, let us hereafter always err on the tough side rather than on the soft."

"Help them for humanity's sake and second for our own sake. We need solvent neighbors for the sake of permanent peace."

"As a former teacher of economics, I cannot too strongly emphasize my belief in the absolute necessity of this policy of helping other countries to get back on their feet.

"Every so often there should be a checkup by the U.S.A. on how our help is being handled. Countries must have help to help themselves; trade agreements, Bretton Woods as is, oil agreements and low tariffs. We must help other countries to become self-supporting but not spoiled."

Many thoughtful readers saw in this matter of helping or not helping other nations to get back on their feet after this war a problem of vital significance to the spiritual as well as material prosperity of Americans:

"The world is one. Humanity is one. We cannot prosper materially or spiritually by shirking a duty which is plainly ours. In the great human family we are all responsible for each other's welfare."

"We can have prosperity only by helping other countries get back on their feet. And bear in mind that there is more to prosperity than mere bread and butter—there is a spiritual prosperity that can be realized only by helping others—including lots of our folks at home."

There was appreciation on the part of many of FREE WORLD readers of the magnitude of the task of world rehabilitation that lies ahead:

"Conceding it to be an almost superhuman task, nothing is more important to the future peace of the world than to convince the American people that they have not a remote, merely academic or idealistic interest in the economic stability and standard of living in other countries, but an immediate, practical interest that directly affects their own pocketbooks."

A woman reader commented:

"Helping other countries should include careful supervision of some nations to make sure that they did nothing to interfere with the economic and political stabilization of the world."

Still another reader may be said to have summed up the general feeling throughout the nation, when she said:

"Not to help is to choose a permanent depression."

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The July Poll

Winning the peace, FREE WORLD believes, involves making sure that democratic ideals are allowed to grow and flourish, and that belief in fascist and nazi ideology is successfully overcome. We therefore asked the National Opinion Research Center to query the American public on the extent to which it sees fascism as a continuing menace after this war. Our readers are again invited to participate in this nation-wide poll by sending in their vote and their comments.

Question for July

Now that Germany has been beaten, do you think there is a real danger that its fascist ideas of government will spring up again somewhere in the world to threaten democracy, or do you think its fascist ideas will largely die out?

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

I believe that the defeat of Germany { will / will not } cause fascist ideas to die out throughout other countries of the world. My reasons for thinking as I do are:

.....

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

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Lights And Shadows In The *World Food Picture*

Americans are hearing a great deal about the food shortages they face. Here is a sound analysis of the "why" of these shortages and of the whole problem of food for the world as it is affected both by the rehabilitation of the nations set free from the Axis and by our own military operations in the Pacific.

BY
T. SWANN HARDING

THE United States now faces its most critical period in the matter of food supplies. It began May 8, 1945 and will continue for some months after Japan's collapse. The newspapers have made this clear. It was also made clear in the report transmitted by Leo T. Crowley, Chairman of the Interagency Committee on Foreign Shipments, on April 30, 1945, to Fred M. Vinson, Director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

The immediate food shortages are also worldwide. They involve the food concentrates upon which we depend for high-grade protein and for fats and oils. The world, with large, devastated areas of land, now has far less meat, oils, fats, sugar, cheese, butter, and rice than it requires. Wheat it has in sufficient quantity; the problem here is that of moving a world surplus of 300 million bushels to the places where it is most needed.

The food supply of the United States has deteriorated for perfectly natural reasons. We civilians ate too much and did not stock pile enough. Our armed forces at times certainly wasted food, which is the most natural thing in the world, as fighters do not conduct war with frugality.

As Europe collapsed, vast numbers of people became our responsibility instead of the responsibility of our enemies. Whereas our enemies could starve or feed at will, for political reasons, we were required by obligations and the prestige of democracy to feed. To help guarantee these people a bare emergency ration of 2,000 calories a day will be a huge job, yet it must be accomplished to create conditions in which stable government and sound economy can be re-established. In 1944 Americans consumed food at a level of 3,367 calories a day.

As the war moves to the East we shall face still greater problems. The Pacific is a much larger ocean than the Atlantic. If we are to maintain the huge armed forces in the East which we at present contemplate, we must provide them with food over long distances. This means more food on the way and more in Army and Navy stockpiles than ever. Much of the perishable food must also be processed expensively to resist hot climates. Until some time after Japan collapses the food situation will be tight.

This means that wartime food control and rationing must continue here, partly because of impaired transportation and food-processing facilities, and partly because great excesses of food simply cannot be produced indefinitely under wartime conditions.

In specific terms of civilian consumption, what are our 1945 food prospects, considering only the scarce products? Until European agriculture is restored it will probably be necessary for us to struggle along on about 72 pounds of sugar each year, instead of our pre-war 97 pounds. We shall be the healthier for that. Canada and the United Kingdom will have still less. We shall have to get used to using

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only about 36 pounds per capita of edible fats and oils, butter included, instead of the 42 pounds we had in 1944 and the 45 pounds we used in pre-war years.

Finally, we shall have to content ourselves with about 120 pounds of meat per person on a yearly basis, in lieu of the 147 pounds we had in 1944, and the mere 126 pounds to which we were accustomed in prewar times. People in the United Kingdom got along with 108 pounds each in 1944 and will have only about 102 pounds each this year. Canadians, who had about 5 pounds less meat per person than we did in 1944, may have 11 pounds more each than we do this year.

Food on International Basis

WHAT about exports? For some time now lend-lease has constituted our export trade in food as in other commodities. After the war lend-lease is expected gradually to merge into normal exports. Just how extensive such exports will be depends upon how many international agreements like the Wheat Agreement can be formulated and accepted, how reciprocal trade agreements go, and what new international bodies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, enable the world to do.

Obviously international conditions could be so adjusted that we should not be troubled with food surpluses here. Yet excesses of food which occur merely because of deficient "effective" demand, as for example a lack of consumer purchasing power at lower-income levels, are not a pretty thing. Resort to the export of such commodities could resolve itself into plain dumping, and that is a dirty trick on our own undernourished classes.

Consequently we are already considering measures like the Aiken-LaFollette Bill which has committee approval and, it is expected, will pass. Such measures are really designed to enhance purchasing power among our lower-income groups—domestic consumer financing. This one would require that a scientific national survey be made to determine the quantities and kinds of foods required to provide dietary adequacy for all our people.

Neither guesswork nor emotion would rule in making the survey because it would be under the supervision of Dr. Hazel K. Stiebeling, international authority on food-survey techniques and Chief of the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. Stiebeling is an expert on studying food habits and in appraising dietary adequacy. The plan would be based upon the data worked up under her direction.

The plan would next require determination of how much food a family needs to maintain a healthful diet. Thereafter the family could procure Government food stamps with which a minimum quantity of food could be bought. That would be basic. We should proceed elsewhere from that minimal level of dietary adequacy. Luxury in food could take care of itself.

Thus we should in effect guarantee sound nutrition for all our own people and at the same time finance the consumption of food which might otherwise be regarded as "surplus." The process would also take commodities off farmer's hands and enhance their incomes, and today the farm population, constituting about one-fifth of all the population, receives only about one-eleventh of the national income.

At the same time it is reasonable to suppose that other wartime measures would be continued, such as the "enrichment" of certain foods with vitamins and minerals, and more extensive industrial feeding experiments. Of course, it would be more sensible for us to eat natural foods in their natural biological condition.

More extensive industrial feeding, and perhaps further experiments in the communal preparation and serving of food in order to better conserve their nutritive elements, would also be advisable. These measures would both enhance the nutritive health standards of our population and lead to the consumption of foods which might otherwise go to waste.

By the interplay of such national and international plans each country could produce the foods it could turn out most efficiently and economically. The entire population of any nation could have an adequate diet. Producers, processors, and distributors could be sufficiently rewarded, and food surpluses would no longer be wasted or dumped, for they would be put to work building health in human beings.

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The Last Bastion

By Burnet Hershey
Special Free World Correspondent in Europe

FOG rolled in on the bleak Atlantic coast of France which is fringed with rock islands such as fishermen fear. Along the uneven, rocky gully moved a small patrol of six French soldiers in ragged uniforms, listening—ears strained for any suspicious sound. They crept slowly forward, picking their way carefully over the treacherous misty terrain. A rustle in the underbrush and they froze into immobility. A faint wind stirred, and the little ragged group of soldiers stood tense—waiting, waiting. . . . Suddenly, a shot whined. . . . One of the group pitched quietly forward onto his face. . . . A soldier had died. This was war. . . .

Yet the war had ended. V-E day—all three V-E days—Kennedy's, Eisenhower's and Stalin's—had come and gone. All Europe had been liberated. Only this corner of France was still "occupied" by Germans, Hitler-men holding tenaciously to the last bit of that France they had so coveted. Perhaps it was fitting and symbolic that this piece of French soil was the last bastion of *Festung Europa* to fall.

From Lorient near the tip of Brittany to Bordeaux, men were dying on an amazing battlefield rarely mentioned in the press or in dispatches, and virtually unknown here at home—a battlefield that became one of the strangest ghostlands of history. Left in the backwash of the great Allied breakthrough of August 1944, a well-organized German army numbering more than 100,000 men tenaciously held practically all of the great coastal ports of France.

The Germans had promised that they would fight from the hills, from the fields, from caves, if need be. If one were seeking for a clue to the kind of war that at first we thought the Nazis might still have strength enough to carry on in their own homeland after the collapse of the *Wehrmacht,* this would have been the perfect pattern for a pocket war—this forgotten front where "trapped" Germans stubbornly held a great strip of strategic French country.

This will truly go down in history as the "forgotten front." And characteristic of this lost battlefield is one of the strangest legends of the war—a legend of forgotten men.

It was whispered during the dreary evenings among General de Larminat's men that when this front should be liquidated and these pockets cleared out, there would be found deep in the concrete submarine pens carved by the Germans in the bowels of the earth along the coast upwards of 500 men and some women—an amazing collection of Allied prisoners—men whose names have long been forgotten—given up for lost—captains of ships and people with special skills and knowledge—all captured from Allied ships sunk by German U-boat crews. No International Red Cross ever reached these "lost men," and no mention was made of their names. They were secret prisoners of the German *Kriegsmarine,* to be held till the end of the war and then used as hostages for the safety of German officers. A great many people believed all this and once in a while a German prisoner was interrogated about them.

I went down from Paris by way of Chartres, Vendome, Tours, Angers to the St. Nazaire pocket some time before the Germans there surrendered. The Atlantic Front, as this little-known battleground was named, was divided roughly into four main pockets; the first at Lorient was held by about 25,000 Nazis; the second at St. Nazaire was held by about 35,000 Germans and the third was held by about 20,000 Ger-

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mans around La Rochelle, I ı Tremblade and another 20,000 near the I rdeaux estuary at Royan and on the Po. t de Grave. The Germans also held the n in strategic coastal islands in these areas:)leron, Re, and further north Groix, Belle-i e and Quiberon. Thus, from just below th Brittany Peninsula to the Spanish border, Fı nce lay half-suffocated—her major Atlantic ports blocked off from badly needed su plies that might be shipped from North Aı ica.

The first thing one noted on arriving in this sector was the definite disadvantages of fighting in a forgotten front. Most of the American soldiers from Major General F. M. Kramer's 6th Army Group, particularly the 66th "Black Panther" division which was holding the northern section of this front, had been pulled out for more urgent work on the German battlefields. There remained the French Forces, commanded by General de Larminat, consisting of Maquis (the FFI fighters) and French Regulars, many from North African units—a tatterdemalion army, starved for arms and ammunition, using mixed weapons, chiefly captured German small arms, German ammunition, some French and some U. S. weapons. As artillery, these troops had several batteries of 75 mm. anti-tank guns. Other artillery was very mixed.

The French troops were dressed in a variety of clothing, chiefly American—much of it in rags. They were eating U. S. rations but had no taste for them. Like most Frenchmen they transformed these U. S. foods into more palatable French dishes.

Typical of the men I saw was a gunner of 17, his features marked and hardened by two years of vicious fighting—Maquis work. He wore a torn coat and he was bitter. "They have forgotten us," he said. All of these men were volunteers.

The type of battle that they carried on was actually guerrilla warfare. The terrain was difficult and so favored the Germans, for it is the kind of undulating, rain-swept *Bocage* country with hedges and woods, such as we found when we fought in Normandy—sweet country for snipers.

You could walk down a field, look through hedges and see the Germans. In some regions the French managed to get possession of high ground and blasted away at the well-fortified German strongpoints.

The Germans on the other hand appeared to be in fairly good shape, and their morale seemed high. These German troops were composed principally of the forces trapped in the Normandy breakthrough, sailors from the German Navy and Naval yards, Russians from Georgia, Poles and Czechs who were impressed into labor service and then forced into the German Army.

In the northern sector, around Lorient, commanded by General Farmbracker, the Germans were credited with 500 pieces of artillery, including a 340 mm. on rails, long-range batteries on the Isle of Goriot which could fire about 30,000 yards, and 88 mm. guns which, however, they did not use. In the St. Nazaire sector, the guns had been taken from German ships lying at anchor. These were mounted on shore and ey blasted away at Allied lines.

What puzzled us was how they got supplies—cut off as they were from their homeland.

It has since been established that a large part of their strategic needs was supplied by the Luftwaffe—by air. Great containers had been seen hurtling to the ground behind the German lines and these were known as "Flying Dufflebags." When the Germans needed panoramic sights for their big guns, these "Dufflebags" brought them straight from Leipzig. And there were rumors in the towns of submarines seen surfacing in the quiet harbors by night. Once when U-boats came into Lorient, Allied 105's opened up on them, but without effect since our artillery was not designed for this kind of work. However, we knew that in addition to submarines, a whole fleet of small craft, local boats, fishing, sail and motor boats captured when the Germans seized the ports, helped supply the nazi garrisons. And around the garrison we heard it rumored that supplies were being shipped from Spain. This was a touchy subject, but stories were beginning to leak from London. One story had it that six or more Spanish ships supplying German forces in this area had been sunk by American planes. The people around there laugh when you talk of "neutral Spain."

Mostly, however, the Germans took food and cattle from the farms in the neighborhood. They had all the liquor they could drink, some of which they made themselves

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in ersatz stills by converting potatoes or cabbages or some other vegetable into a "morale-building fluid." They also had women, Franco Spain again seemed to have served as supply and transit center.

Despite the joy of liberation everywhere else, there were still some 200,000 French inhabitants locked behind these German lines and their existence was a miserable one. Their farms were being plundered, their homes looted.

The harbors along the coast under nazi occupation were choked with the hulls of sunken ships and ruined dock facilities. In the mouth of the Loire, for example, were strewn the hulls of no less than 117 ships totaling 170,000 tons, obstructing the muddy waters up to the great commercial center of Nantes. Tankers, cruisers, six submarine destroyers—all foundered under the weight of bombs and big guns.

On the other hand, the life of the Nazis still holding these ports continued to be one of comparative luxury. Piecing together information from German prisoners and deserters and from several incidents along the front, we got a pretty good picture. There was the case of the nazi lieutenant who got drunk on patrol and fell into the canal as he and his outfit sallied out of St. Nazaire. In fishing him out, his men gave away their positions and a massacre followed.

Then there was the Luftwaffe officer who, during one of the truces arranged for the evacuation of civilians from the besieged areas, asked if he could borrow some new Benny Goodman and Count Basie records. His old ones were getting a little cracked and worn out!

Apparently there existed a cigarette famine among the Germans, and German officers who attended the frequent truce conferences to arrange for the evacuation of French civilians watched Americans light up with genuine anguish. The truce conferences were held at the request of the Germans themselves, who didn't want to feed the French.

The Germans had movies flown in to them fairly regularly. United States Artillery observers finally spotted the location of the biggest motion picture house in Lorient. They waited until the Nazis had crowded in and then let go with their big guns. This, it seems, forced the Germans to show their movies in bunkers which held 50 men at a time. Major Charles M. Parr, representing the 66th American Division at these truce conferences, remarked that the Germans complained bitterly about this interruption of their "simple luxuries."

There was also the sad story of Captain Sonnenburg, the Nazi who had commanded a battalion of infantry and was "busted" to a private. He wrote phony reports of raids against the Allied lines which apparently he never made. There were some changes made also in the case of Captain Kinderred, whom the Nazi higher-ups "relieved" for stealing his men's rations.

German mail service was good. The mails were flown in from the Fatherland by plane. Sometimes, a German commander was relieved and another one sent in his place; but there was a shortage of physicians. Once the Germans dropped a throat specialist by parachute. Unfortunately, his parachute failed to open. The next doctor sent in, however, landed safely.

We heard of German deserters who seeped through in civilian clothes with civilian transfers. Ironically enough, behind German lines there existed a brisk demand for civilian clothes by Germans soldiers who planned to desert, and an almost equally brisk demand for German uniforms by French collaborators who wished to be captured as German prisoners to escape the fate of traitors.

Looking back upon this strangely held ghostland of war, one might ask why the Germans kept up this struggle. There are a number of answers. First, they continued to fight because conditions were not too intolerable where they were. German officers later intimated that their goal had been to hold out in the besieged ports until all Germany proper should be defeated. They wanted to go back to Germany to be hailed as the "unconquered heroes" of the war. "We are those who never surrendered," they expected to be able to say. "We will not share the shame and humiliation of Germany's surrender. We are the heroes who resisted the entire might of the Allied nations. We upheld the honor and pride of the Fatherland when all others gave up hope and raised the white flag!"

And some of these "no surrender" officers

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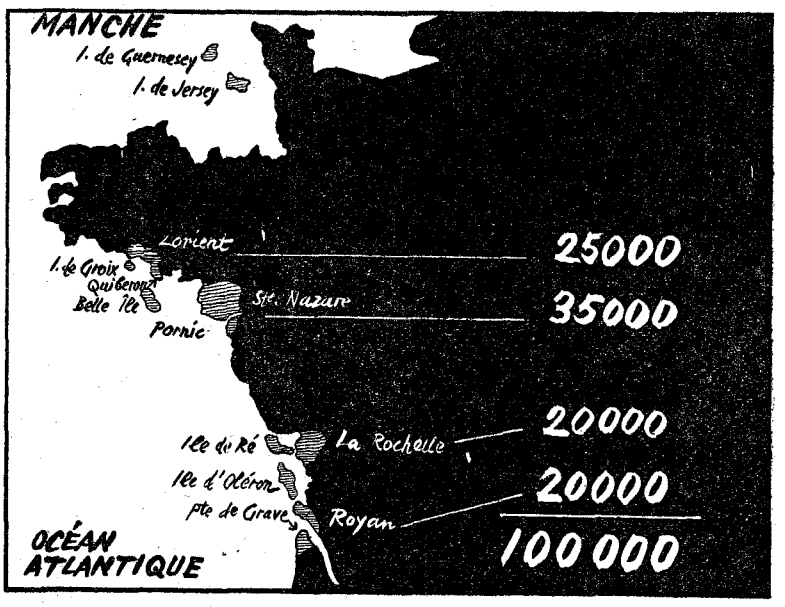

even yet expect to be the ones who will form the nucleus of a new Wehrmacht!

Why then did we not make a major effort to clean out these pockets? This question was asked again and again in editorials in Paris and in London. "Is Berlin to fall before Royan?" "Is the Elbe to be taken before the Loire?" Experts in psychological warfare insist the psychological threat was not wholly to be ignored. The question was also asked by the ill-fed, ill-armed, ill-supplied Frenchmen who had to fight day after day in this quagmire of guerrilla warfare, never having quite enough artillery to do the job, never well enough equipped or provisioned to make any major push.

It had been whispered that the French Government in Paris was not sending supplies to these troops for fear that they might be diverted by the FFI to help overthrow Franco. But this rumor didn't altogether square with the facts. The real truth is that the more urgent needs of the major war in Germany demanded all the men and supplies that could be mustered.

Naturally, some sporadic attempts were made to alleviate the difficult situation of the French forces on this lost battlefield, for as General de Larminat remarked: "You can't crack concrete with submachine guns." A new French Atlantic Air Command had been formed, and its planes attacked the pockets at Lorient, St. Nazaire, La Rochelle and at the mouth of the Girone. The aircraft were manned by Frenchmen who used German bombs and ammunition taken from enemy dumps.

But the mixed army of French Maquis and French Regular troops continued to struggle along, ill-clothed, ill-shod, ill-armed, without relief and unnoticed. They were sweating out the war on a battlefield that had been lost in the shuffle. But it was still war . . . and some of them died.

It is easy to kill a man; it is harder to crush a legend. The blunt facts of this amazing German hold on the great French coastal ports have all been set down dispassionately in Army records. But, many of the men who comprised General Larminat's starving, desperate army will believe to the end of their days in the now shattered tale of concrete submarine pens deep in the bowels of the earth where, supposedly, more than 500 lost men were imprisoned. Forgotten men . . . captains of ships . . . people of special importance . . . all held as hostages. Men who, once they would be rescued would be able to tell the whole story of this "forgotten front," the full significance of this last fantastic German resistance.

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BOOKS

FREEDOM IS MORE THAN A WORD, by Marshall Field. University of Chicago Press. 180 pages. $2.50

CAN DEMOCRACY RECOVER? by Louis Marlio. Doubleday, Doran. 190 pages. $2.00

MARSHALL FIELD'S little book has the engaging directness and simplicity of a primer in democracy. Originally intended, I think, to be merely a story of *PM* and the *Chicago Sun*, the book is more than the background of the battle Marshall Field has taken up for the freedom of the press.

In explaining his motives for the founding of the two newspapers the author discusses, in turn, free enterprise and our educational system, our minority problem, radio and our national polls. He is not an original thinker—and—thank God, does not attempt to impress the reader by fancy aphorisms or glamorous formulas, but every page testifies to his intellectual honesty and modesty. No doubt about Marshall Field, in spite of his wealth and his opportunities, he does not look upon himself as a "leader," but as a simple soldier in the battle for a better world.

The author starts from the premise that we must find a balance between individual and cooperative goals if we want to strengthen or preserve true democracy. He summarizes his credo in these words: "Freedom is more than a word. Freedom is activity, for the foes of freedom never hesitate to take action when they, in their toughness, think that free men are weak. . . . 'We the People' must be a living force, not just a phrase to beguile us at political rallies. Man has little stature set against a Norris Dam or measured against a Flying Fortress, and he will indeed be a small thing unless he decides that his spirit can master the engines of his creation so that his State will be a living force concerned with the freedom of every individual."

One may find many very good and thoughtful remarks between the covers of this book. I like best the chapter dealing with the shortcomings of our educational system, the failures of what Marshall Field calls, "ritualistic and mechanistic education" and the necessity for the development of a third type of educational ideal, that "places its emphasis upon the nurturing of socially useful human beings without reference to a preconceived pattern into which to force them." In another chapter Marshall Field deals with the consumer cooperative. He points to the experiences gained in this field in the Scandinavian countries and says rightly: "This movement is no panacea for the ills of Western civilization, but it can help by serving as one additional way of democratizing our social structure."

The second half of the book is devoted to a study of the two newspapers Marshall Field publishes and to his battle with the Associated Press. As in all similar studies about the freedom of the press, Marshall Field denounces the non-politic or semi-monopolistic control of daily newspaper markets as the chief danger. He quotes many interesting figures to prove the trend toward local monopolies and the decline in the number of cities with competing dailies.

While it is true that this monopolistic trend represents a serious danger, it is unfortunately wishful thinking to believe that the existence of competing newspapers constitutes in itself a bulwark for freedom and democracy.

Louis Marlio, exposing another side of the picture, the French press, writes: "The prewar French press possessed neither the virtues . . . of independence and honesty. . . . Whenever a new issue of stock was made, or when new bonds were put on the market, the bankers and industrialists concerned were obliged to pay a good-sized commission for what was called 'advertising' to a great many newspapers, many of them entirely unknown. As for the government, its only means of defense against the pressure brought to bear by the newspapers, "many of which were subsidized by foreign states, was to buy them off with the secret funds at its disposal. These abuses led to the cropping up of many parasite papers whose existence was possible only because of these reprehensible subsidies."

Democracies Betrayed Ideals

THE truth is: without radical changes in the economic and social structure of our present democratic system, freedom of the press, as all other freedoms, will remain mere words in spite of all our good intentions. The book of Louis Marlio proves this once more. A Frenchman, with an impressive background and wide experience, a successful big business executive and teacher of economics, Louis Marlio combines practical sense with profound knowledge. He,

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A Price for Peace

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Economic Stability in the Postwar World

$3.00

The second of the League of Nations' reports on measures designed to prevent or mitigate worldwide depressions.

Columbia

too, like Marshall Field, sees rightly the solution of our most pressing problem in a synthesis of political freedom and economic justice. He quotes a statement by Reverend Father Lacordaire during the French Revolution of 1848: "Be advised, oh, ye who do not already know it; be advised, ye enemies of God and man—by whatever names ye be known—that in matters between the strong and the weak, between the rich and the poor, between master and servant, it is liberty that enslaves and the law which emancipates."

Marlio's main thesis is that the democracies have betrayed their own ideals. "The democracies might have offset the totalitarian menace by a more altruistic and dynamic application of the principles of the French Revolution. Instead they . . . retracted into themselves and followed increasingly egotistical policies."

The author draws an impressive balance sheet of the organic weaknesses, the moral crises and the shortcomings of the democracies. But on the other hand his suggestions for making democracy more just and dynamic are unfortunately rather superficial. His remedies for unemployment are modifications of the present system of unemployment relief. He advocates "social guilds," constituted within each industry by representatives of workers and employers unions. Unemployment relief should not be charged to the account of the state, but figured in the cost price.

He argues as follows: "When his production declines during a depression, the producer continues to pay for the upkeep of his machines and the interest on the capital invested which made it possible for him to buy those machines. When he leases manpower, therefore, which is not an inexhaustible working force, he should in all fairness pay not only the price of the work while the workman is occupied, but also his living expenses during times of depression, because he will need that workman again tomorrow to start his factory working. Naturally it is also just that the workman pay a certain assessment for the guarantee which is given him."

And later Marlio states: "In the common interest of management and labor we demand a more democratic distribution of profits which would promote both a higher standard of living and an expansion of markets."

Useful and stimulating as his book is in its criticism and analysis of the weaknesses and shortcomings of our democratic system, it fails in answering what concrete methods or measures should be applied to overcome them. Marlio sets his hopes on a new sense of fraternity and moral responsibility on the part of the freedom-loving peoples. I am afraid that this will not prove sufficient.

LEO LANIA

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A Biographer Looks at Germany

THE MORAL CONQUEST OF GERMANY, by Emil Ludwig. Doubleday, Doran. 180 pages. $2.00.

RECENTLY, at the invitation of General Eisenhower, an investigation of German Concentration Camps was made by leading American editors and congressional representatives. If it were not for the integrity of these men and the sense of outrage which induced our Commanding General to invite them, the public might have doubted even the documentary record made by the motion picture camera. Those of us who had studied German moral nihilism were not surprised. The atrocities were the *mass* expression of German policy and were inevitable.

Unfortunately our evaluations are still on an unrealistic plane. We have yet to learn that starting a war is a greater atrocity than waging it in violation of the rules of warfare; and that the millions who died in combat are no less the victims of the greatest atrocity in world history than millions who died in privately arranged murder quarters. Neither Rundstedt, Jodl, Goering, nor any lesser German, shows any awareness of the world's horror at German corruption; a corruption which has immersed the continent in blood five times in the last eighty years,—twice in the last twenty-five years.

Now the Germans have been conquered but the war is not done. With characteristic efficiency they have a plan for defeat. The world, said General Stuelpnagel, must be conquered in stages. It may take three or four world wars before the Germans plant their victory flag over a prostrate civilization. If one looks about, not merely at the vast and unkempt graveyards of Europe where once cities stood, but at the annihilated populations of Germany's neighbors,—at their still-birth rate, which is the highest in all history, at the economic chaos in which the seeds of German militarism have been sown for future flourishing, it is evident that the war is not over. It has merely entered another phase.

It is against this background that Emil Ludwig's book must be read. We must understand that this is not an historical study of past events. It is a warning of an existing danger which lurks in the combination of German depravity and our own lack of comprehension.

Ludwig's training as a biographer has imposed itself upon his political writings. He has learned to "reconstruct" a man by gathering many facts, often trivial in themselves, but which cumulatively etch sides of his character otherwise invisible. I suppose that biographical research is a branch of detective work. The clues are gathered. They may appear irrelevant. But they derive meaning from their relationship to one another and lead to triumphant revelation.

Ludwig's composite photograph of Germany may be described in the following sentence:

"The continuous urge of the German toward expansion, his lasting discontent, that Faustean striving which can be sensed behind all possible masks makes him long for new spheres of power and domination rather than security."

The greatest trap for the unsuspecting is the belief still held by many that the Germans were captured by the nazi clique and were their first victims. This is a dangerous lie. Foremost in the overwhelming proof that Germans are responsible for Hitler, not he for them, is the support he was given even by the intellectual strata of Germany.

Ludwig supplies a full bill of particulars to this accusation. In 1914, ninety-three outstanding German intellectuals issued a pronunciamento approving and hailing the invasion of Belgium. In 1933, 1,200 German professors hailed Hitlerism. Among these were nine of the most famous psychiatrists in Germany. They published a declaration, with a preface by Jung, urging all members of the Allegemeine Gesellschaft für Psychiatrie, to study *Mein Kampf* with "full scholarly earnestness, and accept it as fundamental."

I shall dwell least on the practical recommendations of Ludwig's book. For if one understands the German problem the solution to a great extent writes itself. Thus if one understands German love for authority, it is obvious that the occupying forces should assert their authority masterfully, and avoid all generous gestures. If one understands German love for uniform, it is obvious that disarmament must be total, without even a nucleus German police force, or a single German uniform or flag. If one understands German treachery, it is obvious that Germans must not be permitted to save their war criminals as they did last time by promising to conduct their own trials; nor can they be trusted to disarm mentally by reforming their own schools. If one understands German contempt for democracy, it is obvious that any experiment, such as the Weimar Republic in 1918, will serve only to screen the Pan-Germans who will hide behind the skirts of the republic and control it.

It is not for its affirmative program that this book is distinguished. Indeed, one is shocked to find a recommendation that:

"The dismissal of four thousand university

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"If enough such books are written, if enough millions of people read them, maybe, someday, there will be a greater understanding and a more true democracy."

—Orville Prescott, *N. Y. Times*

BLACK BOY

By Richard Wright

Author of *Native Son*

". . . one of the most revealing human documents I have read in a long time. . . . He has told the truth about the Negro, and along with this, what the Negro thinks about the white man's world . . . reading it is not unlike taking hold of a high-tension wire."—Hamilton Bassco, *The New Yorker.*

"A remarkably fine book. . . . Here is Negro poverty in all its sordidness; here is the calculated spiritual imprisonment of one racial group by another; here, above all, is the personal humiliation of Negro by white."

—Lionel Trilling, *The Nation*

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teachers to be paid a pension of five thousand marks each (as a reward for their no longer corrupting the spirit of German students) calls for an appropriation of five million dollars a year. (p. 174.)

Pay German teachers, indeed, for not "corrupting the spirit of German students!" And would the author pay the Prussian General Staff for not teaching the younger officers the science of war or the industrialists for not making robot bombs? No, Ludwig is a better diagnostician than healer.

He belongs to that valiant group headed by Lord Vansittart who dared to tell the world of the psychotic nature of the German people, (resulting from generations of evil teaching). He has placed responsibility where it belonged —on the German people—not merely on the German militarists or the Nazis. He has proved that the good Germans have always been ineffectual and have not even been a brake upon German barbarism. He has told the truth. And the enormous resistance of American and English sentimentalists has gradually yielded to this truth.

We must learn not to "transfer" our own standards to those of our enemies when we weigh their responsibility. For while it is difficult to conceive that Germans really believe that "war is wonderful because it permits you to kill without passion"—the fact is they do. Until the Germans have shown *by conduct* that they do not intend to slaughter the next generation, we must, for our own safety, impose the severest restrictions upon them. This must be done not in the name of a hard peace—or soft peace, but in the name of an effective peace. It will take at least 25 years before the Germans can be welcomed back into the society of nations.

Until then, *The Moral Conquest of Germany* is a noble beacon of warning to the world —a reminder not to squander the peace for which mountains of dead were amassed.

LOUIS NIZER

Mr. Nizer is widely known as attorney, author and active participant in national and international causes. Among his own most recent books may be mentioned *Thinking on Your Feet, New Courts of Industry,* and *What to Do with Germany.* His careful study of this latter subject suggested his name to the editors as a person eminently fitted to review Emil Ludwig's book.

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Winning the Peace

The principle of world organization to maintain the peace is widely accepted today, but many vital issues involved in the necessary cooperation between nations remain to be solved in future years. Nor are all authorities agreed on proper solutions. We here present the reviews on two contributions to this subject. Dr. Donald A. MacLean reviews *Main Street's New Neighbors* by Melvin K. Whiteleather, while Mr. Whiteleather reviews Dr. MacLean's book, *A Dynamic World Order*.

MAIN STREET'S NEW NEIGHBORS, by Melvin K. Whiteleather. J. B. Lippincott. 252 pages. $3.00

THE thinking man of the world's Main Street is here presented with a readable, lucid and informative exposition of many of the issues essential to a practical understanding of the world citizen's everyday problems. The author thereby makes a notable contribution to the understanding and solution of some of the most critical and fundamental problems of the postwar world.

While World War II, through intimate shoulder-rubbing of soldiers and civilians on every continent, has brought about a consciousness of our global proximity and interdependence, it has forced home the realization that progress throughout the world in the ordering of human relations has not kept pace with industrial and scientific progress. The author rightly emphasizes the essential role of education everywhere in dispelling ignorance, misinformation and prejudices which retard development of cordial good neighbor spirit so vital to harmonious life in our newly discovered contracted world. Bringing the international community, which laggardly follows the bloody barbaric course of primitive stages of human development, in line with social and scientific advances, is the immediate task confronting mankind.

Realization of the stupendous costs of modern warfare to both victor and vanquished, and of the necessity of rebuilding upon the ruins of a scorched and shattered world a civilization worthy of man's gigantic sacrifices and of his best efforts, should rudely awaken all peoples to a realization of the bankruptcy of an international society in which human life, liberty, security and welfare rest upon the flimsy foundations of international alliances and balances sustained ultimately by economic and military might. The exhausted and crippled masses hope that something will be done and know that "that something must be in the field of international action." To prevent recurrences of an experience so costly to mankind, peoples must realize that efforts "to remove the causes of war are an essential part of the search for peace."

However, removal of such obstacles is far from sufficient to ensure a tranquil world. A peace which fails to take cognizance of the requirements of the international natural law and the moral forces with which God has endowed mankind must ever remain fragile and precarious. Peoples everywhere need to be made conscious of the reality, of the unity, interdependence and universal solidarity of the great human family. The author rightly asserts that all people must be educated to the necessity of renouncing all unwarranted claims to absolute sovereignty as fundamentally incompatible with the higher liberty, security, well-being and peace of all peoples.

While Whiteleather realistically admits we cannot hope to rid ourselves of all wars any more than we can of all crime, yet an understanding of the aspirations and needs of our fellow members in the world community would do much to remove or reduce causes leading to international clashes. With this in view Whiteleather undertakes to survey the problems of our principal "new neighbors" in the shrunken world's Main Street. Most of the work is consequently devoted to a study of Great Britain, France, Russia, China and Germany.

"The war brought to the people of Main Street their first consciousness of what other nations meant when they talked of national security," says Whiteleather. For Great Britain especially, victory will not terminate her national emergency. "A major part" of the solution of her grave economic problem "lies in the outside world." Britain must trade in order to "pay her way and live." The grave problem of her very existence is linked up with her foreign investments, communications, shipping services and international trade.

While the United States is so equipped that she could easily take the lead over Britain in the field of a competitive world economy, such rivalry would be seriously destructive to both nations as well as to the higher common welfare of peoples everywhere. To engage against each other in these vicious imperialistic prac-

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tices "would be to cut each other's throats." In reality the United States needs a strong British Empire, while Britain equally needs a strong United States.

This British and American collaboration is of fundamental importance for the health and peace of the whole world. The author rightly asserts, "if the two countries whose cultural foundations rest upon the same rock cannot compose their national differences in a mutually helpful spirit, what hope is there for cooperation among countries with radically different cultures."

Future Franco-American cooperation is bound to be be-deviled considerably by the memory of our persistent official refusal to acknowledge General de Gaulle's leadership of the Fighting French.

The author presents considerable material which affords new light on France's attitude during the years following her capitulation in June, 1940. Events which involved our persistent attempts to oust General de Gaulle from French leadership, constitute, according to Whiteleather, "the most baffling episode of the diplomatic side of the war."

Under the heading "Russia—World's Neighbor" the author portrays an over optimistic picture of Russia's "conversion" from communism and renunciation of her "world revolution" policies. As "dire necessity and not mutual affection caused them (Russia, Britain, United States) to get together," so Russia's needs for security, coupled with Stalin's determination to secure for Russia a place as one of the major world powers, determine largely her present and future world policies. Hence, the author asserts, it is Russia's desire "above all for security on its borders" and not her communistic ideology that has dictated her conduct in Romania, the Baltic States, Finland, Yugoslavia and even Poland. The U.S.S.R., in the author's estimation, is "just another country trying to get along on a nationalist basis."

The claim that "there are no indications that communist ideology any longer dictates Russia's foreign policy" may readily be questioned by many statesmen and scholars not in any way identified with Poland or the other Russian dominated border states. In any case Russia should realize that she, as all other States, can have security only as a part of world security. Any attempt to establish it unilaterally, through domination or sacrifice of the basic rights and interests of her neighbor states, inevitably undermines European security and destroys that mutual trust without which international unity and security cannot endure. Complete renunciation by Russia of her unilateral and intervention policies will not only inspire mutual cooperation but will also secure for her a large share in that security, international trade and foreign credits so essential to Russia's reconstruction and development.

The future of Asia and the Southwest Pacific, Whiteleather believes, is largely locked up with the mysticism of India and China's struggle for unity. China's amazing battle against Japan's military might has won for her world-wide respect.

Under proper tutelage China can develop a greater sense of unity and responsibility both to her own people and to the peoples of the world. Aided by abundant outside help, especially from the United States, Canada and Britain, China can modernize and develop her economic life, promote her cultural development and at the same time play a considerable role in furthering world peace and civilization.

The roots of the German problem lie buried in history. Hitler, it is claimed, was only the last and worst of a type to rule Germany. How the United Nations handle Germany "will determine whether the Germans in another generation or two break out again as the enemy of humanity" or become cooperatively effective in European and world reconstruction." Under intelligent international control German industry can be utilized for the economic and social development of peoples everywhere.

However, whatever is done, it is well to remember that "no lasting solution can come through imposition. The Germans will have to save their own soul and they can't hurriedly be shoved into trying to do it." Moreover, as will shortly be realized, getting devastated Europe back again on its feet will prove to be such a complicated task, as to try the intelligence, cooperative efforts, patience and goodwill of statesmen and peoples for many years, perhaps for many generations.

Simultaneously with occupation of Axis nations, a purging throughout the world of the evil influences and ideals that made Germany and her allied aggressor nations outlaws in the comity of nations should be carried out. Besides, all peoples must be induced to learn the ways of Christian good neighborliness, of democratic self-government and of assuming their share in the mutual responsibility of all nations for world security, prosperity and peace.

DONALD A. MACLEAN

Dr. MacLean is associate professor of Social, Political and International Ethics at the Catholic University of America. He is a member of many important committees on world organization, inter-American relations and international peace.

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Will World Order Work?

A DYNAMIC WORLD ORDER, by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Donald A. MacLean. Bruce Publishing Company. 235 pages. $2.50

MONSIGNOR MacLEAN'S *A Dynamic World Order* is a plea and a prayer for a "return of large and influential sections of mankind to correct views about human nature and society."

Christianity is the sole source of the "correct views" for "In Christianity alone can one find the basis from which to proclaim a new universal Declaration of Independence for all mankind."

Monsignor MacLean argues that it is folly for mankind to expect salvation and well-being to come from science, for science has proved itself to be destructive as well as constructive. The only way to make certain that science abandons its destructive aspects is to seek out and rely upon higher forces capable of directing science.

"The major world evils," he says, "can find no fundamental remedy in exclusively scientific, economic, social or political reforms alone. Only return to God the Creator and ruler of mankind and His universal moral law will furnish this essential remedy. No other substitute, no ersatz will suffice."

He adds that mere freedom cannot be the ultimate objective or even the basis of union of any association; it cannot be the sole foundation of a dynamic world order having any hope of endurance. Without the illumination and direction of the higher truths of religion and morality, possession of freedom inevitably plunges humanity into anarchy and enslavement.

This is the theme of *A Dynamic World Order* and Monsignor MacLean stresses it over and over in every chapter as he moves along from the general to the specific, with frequent references to Papal Encyclicals to bolster his case.

Believing in the brotherhood of man and in human solidarity, the author has no patience with racial theories, classless society, absolute sovereignty, balance of power, national interests, neutrality, isolation, world revolution and kindred forces, beliefs and practices which have been separating the human family. He is fearful that once again the global concept will be ignored and rugged nationalism will assert itself in the form of economic and political imperialism. Economic burdens of the postwar era, he says, may accentuate mental attitudes whereby the wholesome spirit of universal human brotherhood will be considerably undermined. Yet, "Economic problems, like all other major social issues, must be viewed globally" and "it might well be remembered that no one section of human society can be seriously injured without that injury ultimately reacting harmfully on all other sections of the world commonwealth."

Although he thinks in terms of universality, Monsignor MacLean finds that nationalism is not per se to be condemned. He seeks a middle ground between ultra-nationalism and ultra-internationalism. To the author, the representative of ultra-internationalism in the world today is communism and communism is anathema to the Catholic Church. He quotes Pius XII to the effect that "the unity of all mankind exists in law and in fact," but also the "natural order divides the human race into social groups, nations, and states." Hence, both nationalism and internationalism are proper, and if correctly appreciated and co-ordinated, are essential to a complete new world order.

"Return" to Christianity

THE book is mainly concerned with basic principles, but there are five chapters in which the author applies them to such specific problems as freedom of the seas and communications, airways, the rights of minorities and disarmament.

Few will disagree with the thesis that the world's chronic ailments would be no more serious than is pink-eye if all men were motivated by the teachings of Christ. But when Monsignor MacLean advocates a "return" to Christianity, he seems to mean a return to the Roman Church as it existed before religious individualism asserted itself in the sixteenth century. He blames modern "irreligious, economic, social, and political individualism" for "religious individualism."

It is in this area of his thinking that one can find argumentative material.

MELVIN K. WHITELEATHER

Mr. Whiteleather who now writes on foreign affairs for the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* has served as newspaper correspondent in many European cities, including Paris, Berlin and Rome. He is a graduate of the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques and also studied at the University of Berlin.

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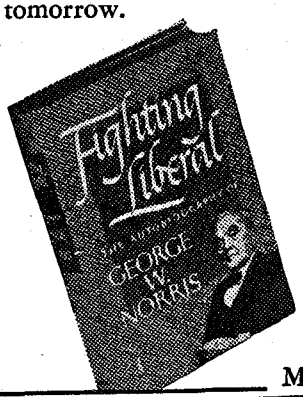

MACMILLAN

Peace Economy

A PRICE FOR PEACE, by Antonin Basch. Columbia University Press. 209 *pages.* $2.50

EVERY informed observer will agree that in the shaping of the postwar world the economic issue is bound to assume paramount importance. It is unfortunate that public opinion as a whole has not been made to realize to what extent the world security structure will depend upon the proper solution of the manifold economic problems. The Bretton Woods agreements and the establishment of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization provide the framework for the initial steps on the hard road of postwar economic readjustment.

The book traces and analyzes economic developments in Europe between the two wars and during World War II. The sound analysis is well illustrated with carefully chosen statistics. Professor Basch believes that, "Europe will have to maintain and intensify her development—already strong in the interwar period—toward a further specialization of production and particularly of export."

The chapter, "Europe Goes Left," is most provocative. The issue of private enterprise versus state ownership, and that of planned economy, are more than ever in the center of world controversy. Professor Basch registers the trend toward state ownership of industry and planned economy. Regarding state ownership, it is the author's opinion that "the decision of this important problem is not sought on economic merits, but that it has become a *political issue.* It has become once more the center of a fight for power. . . ." Professor Basch states that "it is certain that the nations will not want to go back to the *status quo ante,*" yet he is apprehensive of vital economic and social decisions implied in a radical program aiming at the nationalization of industry.

The issue thus raised lies at the very heart of the preoccupations of the United Nations leaders entrusted with the task of putting Europe back on its feet. It is hard to visualize how the determined mood of the peoples of Europe, bent on major structural changes, could be conciliated with the idea of a truce recommended by Professor Basch for the period of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the European economy.

The book puts a timely stress on the importance of international investment as a stimulus to expanding world trade. Everyone who strives to achieve a rounded understanding of the world's problems should read *A Price for Peace.*

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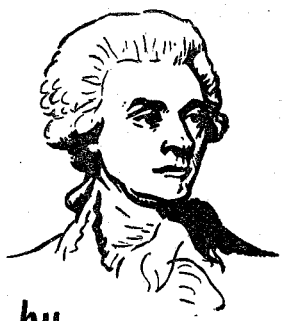

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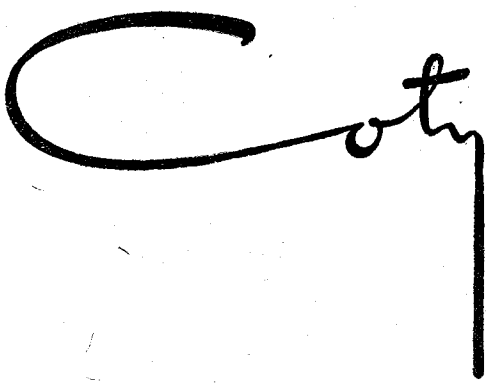

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